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June 1954

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AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

VOLUME 19

JUNE, 1954

NUMBER 3

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★ Membership dues of the Society, including subscription, are \$10.00 per year. Subscription rate, \$6.00. Single issues, \$1.25. Postage is paid by the publishers in the United States and Canada; other countries, \$1.00 per year.

Four weeks' advance notice to the Executive Office, and old address as well as new, are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

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Washington Square
New York 3, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Albany, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 23, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P.L. and R., authorized June 4, 1936.

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American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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Volume 19
Number 3

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

THE THEORY OF COMPLEMENTARY NEEDS IN MATE- SELECTION: AN ANALYTIC AND DESCRIPTIVE STUDY *

ROBERT F. WINCH

Northwestern University

AND

THOMAS AND VIRGINIA KTSANES

Tulane University

IN a sense motives are abstractions from observed continuities in behavior. Prediction is a test of the conceptual worth of a motivational scheme. We reason that if the motivational pattern of an individual can be adequately described, then it should be possible to make two kinds of predictions: (a) the motivational patterns of persons with whom the first person will seek to interact, and (b) how he will behave with, and hence influence, persons with various kinds of motivational patterns.

In its general form (a) leads to a theory of selective interaction, of which the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection is a special case. This is the specific implication of the theory which we have undertaken to investigate. We have stated only one broad implication of (b) and have not undertaken any study along this line.¹

* Revised version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1953. This investigation was supported in part by a research grant (MH-439) from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service, and in part by a grant from the Graduate School of Northwestern University.

¹ This implication has been stated as follows: "... people desire children for reasons largely unknown to themselves and . . . these reasons, if they can be uncovered, will be of considerable value in illuminating the ways in which parents act toward their children and react to them, the ways in which they participate in the formation of the personality

The Theory of Complementary Needs. The theory of motivation used in this study is a modified and simplified version of the Murray need schema.² Since the theory of motivation is general, it can subsume all human behavior, including such behavior as is involved in the interactional processes of courtship and mate-selection. If the theory is correct, it should be able to explain a considerable proportion of the variance in mate-selection. The theory of complementary needs in mate-selection is a specific application of the general motivational theory plus its implications for selective interaction in mate-selection.³

The theory proceeds from the observation that "love" is regarded as the *sine qua non* of marriage in middle-class America. For the purpose of this study "love" is defined as the experience of deriving gratification for important psychic needs from a peer-age person of the opposite sex, or the

structures of their children." R. F. Winch, "The Study of Personality in the Family Setting," *Social Forces*, 28 (1950), p. 314.

² H. A. Murray *et al.*, *Explorations in Personality*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

³ The theory of complementary needs may be extended beyond mate-selection and the dyad. It would appear feasible to make use of the general form of the theory in explaining the formation of cliques within groups, in selecting working teams as for bomber crews, and the like.

expectation of deriving such gratification.⁴

The basic hypothesis of the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection is that in mate-selection each individual seeks within his or her field of eligibles⁵ for that person who gives the greatest promise of providing him or her with maximum need-gratification. It is not assumed that this process is totally or even largely conscious. For the present we leave the level of consciousness unspecified and a subject for investigation. We should anticipate, however, that the level of awareness of this process would vary from one person to another, and that persons who have relatively clear perception of their psychic processes would fall near the "totally aware" end of the continuum.

It follows from the general motivational theory that both the person to whom one is attracted, and the one being attracted, will be registering in behavior their own need-patterns. Then a second hypothesis follows from the first—that the need-pattern of *B*, the second person or the one to whom the first is attracted, will be *complementary* rather than *similar* to the need-pattern of *A*, the first person.

The latter is the hypothesis which this study is designed to test directly. Our reasoning is based on the postulate that as *B* acts out *B*'s own need-pattern, *B*'s resulting behavior will be a greater source of gratification to *A* than will be the case with the behavior of *C*, who is psychically similar to *A*. And reciprocally, *A*'s behavior will be a greater source of gratification to *B* than will be the behavior of some other person who is psychically more similar to *B*.

Let us note some obvious and highly oversimplified examples. If *A* is highly ascendant, we should expect *A* to be more attracted maritally to *B* who is submis-

sive than to *C* who, like *A*, is ascendant. If *A* is somewhat sadistic, we should expect *A* to be more attracted maritally to *B* who is somewhat masochistic than to *C* who is sadistic. If *A* is a succorant person, we should expect *A* to be attracted to nurturant *B* rather than to succorant *C*.⁶ And in each of these cases *B* should be reciprocally attracted to *A*.

Perhaps it will facilitate communication if we offer an example in more conventional psychological language rather than in the specialized need terminology. Let us consider the hypothetical case of a passive-dependent male who, consciously or unconsciously, recognizes and accepts this disposition in himself. We should hypothesize that the man would seek out a nurturant, maternal woman. If, however, he should reject his own need-pattern, we should expect the man to seek a very dependent "clinging vine." In the latter case the woman might find gratification in the man's behavior resulting from his compensatory defenses.⁷

Need. It is now in order to explain the terms "need" and "complementary." We conceive of "need" as a goal-oriented drive, native or learned, which, as Murray says, "organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation, and action in such a way as to transform in a certain direction an existing, unsatisfying situation."⁸ Of course the goal need not be a material object but any state of affairs which the individual senses would be more gratifying than the "existing, unsatisfying situation."

To test our hypothesis it is necessary to have some classification of needs and some procedure for observing them. We begin by assuming that there is no one "correct" classification of needs. Rather, one's research problem, and more specifi-

⁶ Nurturant means giving sympathy, help, protection, or indulgence, and succorant means seeking the same things.

⁷ Complementary needs as a basis of mate-selection have occasionally been remarked among neurotic spouses, wherein we might speak of the "theory of complementary neuroses." (Cf., e.g., C. P. Oberndorf, "Psychoanalysis of Married Couples," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 25 (1938), pp. 453-57). It is our hypothesis, however, that complementarity operates among so-called normals as well as among neurotics.

⁸ Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁴ In our formulation "sex" is not the equivalent of "love," and hence the latter is not a euphemism for the former. Sexual needs are certainly important, but we do not conceive of them as constituting the totality of "important psychic needs." The importance of sex, relative to other needs, varies from marriage to marriage and from person to person, and within persons its relative importance varies from moment to moment and from level to level of consciousness.

⁵ "Field of eligibles" is explained below.

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cally the kinds of behavior involved, should influence the needs posited and their definitions. This study employs an abridged and amended version of the classification set forth by H. A. Murray and associates in the work previously cited.⁹

In conceptualizing our study we felt that it would be contrary to common observation and experience if we were to postulate perfectly general needs, such as dominance, recognition, and the like. Rather it appeared necessary to take account of the level of awareness and expression and of the expected locus of gratification (or situation).

Although Freudian psychology specifically denotes three kinds or levels of consciousness (conscious, precorconscious, and unconscious), Freud and others have remarked that this three-fold classification is a heuristic device and that they really think of consciousness as a continuum with an unlimited number of levels of awareness from the most deeply repressed unconsciousness to completely verbalizable consciousness. Avenues of expression are proliferated, moreover, through the numerous mechanisms of defense. In an effort to keep our conceptual (and hence operational) schema as simple as possible, we posited only two levels—overt and covert. We accepted the overt-covert dichotomy as the most workable compromise with the Freudian view of psychic complexity.

Similarly, the recognition that to a con-

siderable degree behavior is situation-specific can lead to the postulation of a classification containing an unlimited number of situations. Our prime concern is with marital situations. Accordingly, we chose the simplest classification: (a) within the marriage, and (b) all other situations.

Where feasible, therefore, we double-dichotomized our need variables. For example, we posited overt dominance both within and outside the marriage and covert dominance both within and outside. We refer to dichotomized and double-dichotomized variables as sub-variables. The application of these dichotomies made our 15 variables (*cf.* n. 9 above) into 44 sub-variables.

Complementariness. When two persons, A and B, are interacting, we consider the resulting gratifications of both to be "complementary" if one of the following conditions is satisfied:

- (1) the need or needs in A which are being gratified are *different in kind* from the need or needs being gratified in B; or
- (2) the need or needs in A which are being gratified are *very different in intensity* from the same needs in B which are also being gratified.

"An example of (1) is found in the case of a person desirous of attention and recognition [need recognition] who finds gratification in relationship with a person who tends to bestow admiration on the former [need deference]. Alternative (2) is illustrated in the interaction between a person who wants others to do his bidding [high need dominance] and one lacking the ability to handle his environment who is looking for someone to tell him what to do [low need dominance]. It will be recognized that this definition of complementariness embraces two forms of heterogamy."¹⁰

Qualifications. Since the theory of complementary needs asserts that mate-selection

⁹ Definitions of the needs and general traits used in this study appear in both of the previous publications on the theory of complementary needs. (*Cf.* R. F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, New York: Holt, 1952, Ch. 15. Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, "The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection," in R. F. Winch and Robert McGinnis (eds.), *Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family*, New York: Holt, 1953, pp. 435-53). The needs used in the quantitative analysis presented below are abasement, achievement, approach, autonomy, deference, dominance, hostility, nurturance, recognition, status aspiration, status striving, and sucorance; the general traits are anxiety, emotionality, and vicariousness. Although we conceive of sex as a need, we have not treated it quantitatively in the present study. The reason for this is that in the clinical literature and in our impressionistic preconceptions the sex drive seems to assume myriad forms, and hence to conceptualize it as a unidimensional continuum seems to do unusual violence to the phenomenon under study.

¹⁰ Ktsanes and Ktsanes, *op. cit.*, p. 442. At first reading it might appear that high need recognition equals low need deference, and hence that case 1 is similar to case 2. We do not, however, regard recognition and deference as poles of the same dimension; rather, it seems quite possible for a person to be high on both or low on both of these variables.

is based on the psychic make-up of the individuals engaging in mutual choices and asserts further that the bases of the choices may be unconscious, it follows that the theory should be presumed to operate only where marriage-partners are chosen voluntarily and mutually. In other words, it is not to be expected that the theory would be operative in a setting where marriages are arranged (as by parents, marriage brokers, or others). Both man and woman should have some choice in the matter, moreover, even though the discretion exercised be no more than the negative right to reject a proposal for marriage to someone perceived as unsuitable.

For choice to exist, furthermore, each individual must have a field of potential mates. Here we note the relevance of a considerable number of studies which concur in concluding that American marriages are homogamous. At first, it might appear that these studies would contradict the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection. Where homogamy has been conclusively shown, however, it has pertained to such social characteristics as race, religion, educational level, and social class. (We may regard the studies showing residential propinquity of marriage-partners as reporting homogamy in a spatial sense.)¹¹ Rather than interpret these studies as contradictory to our theory, we regard them as not bearing directly on motivational variables and instead as denoting a series of variables which serve to define and delimit for each individual a set of marriageable persons. This set of marriageable persons is designated by the term "field of eligibles."

These qualifications are incorporated

¹¹ For interpretive summaries of these studies see: R. F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, pp. 400-03; and Ktsanes and Ktsanes, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-38. A more extensive bibliography on assortative mating appears in A. B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), pp. 619-20. Although there is abundant evidence to support the hypothesis of homogamy with respect to such social characteristics as those noted above, the studies which have concerned emotional and motivational characteristics of mate-selection have not yielded conclusive evidence for either homogamy or heterogamy.

into the theory in the following way. The practice of the voluntary and mutual choice of spouses means simply that mate-selection occurs only between people who are acquainted with each other. The principle of homogamy with respect to social characteristics means that those who are acquainted tend to be similar with respect to these characteristics. From the consequently delimited field of eligibles it is hypothesized that each person tends to select as a spouse that person whom the first person perceives as giving the greatest promise of providing himself or herself with need-gratification.¹²

Procedure. Our general procedure for a series of analyses in process involves ratings by two or more judges on the basis of one or more of three personal documents:

- (1) an interview structured to elicit evidence on these needs, called by us a "need-interview";
- (2) a case-history interview; and
- (3) an eight-card thematic apperception test.

Only one analysis has been completed thus far. Ktsanes and Ktsanes have performed what is in effect a content-analysis of the need-interviews. They have analyzed each subject's response to each question, have decided to which need or needs it relates, and have assigned ratings on a five-point basis to the responses. The final rating given by each of these two raters to each

¹² It will be noted that "need" as used in this context is not synonymous with "interest." It seems plausible that mate-selection tends to pair people with similar interests (as for bridge, classical music, fundamentalist religion, and the like). In other words, (a) we accept the evidence which points to intra-marital *homogeneity* with respect to social characteristics, (b) we think it plausible that there is also intra-marital *homogeneity* with respect to interests, but (c) we hypothesize that there is intra-marital *heterogeneity* with respect to such motivational dimensions as those cited in n. 9 above. It seems plausible to suspect that, other things being equal, persons who are homogeneous with respect to social characteristics and interests would be more likely to gratify each other's needs than would persons who are heterogeneous in such respects. For a more complete exposition of the theory of complementary needs see: R. F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, Ch. 12 and esp. Ch. 15; and Ktsanes and Ktsanes, *op. cit.* An illustrative case appears in each of these references.

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subject on each sub-variable was the arithmetic mean of ratings given to the individual responses. The mean of the two raters' final ratings was taken as the final datum for this analysis.¹³

The Sample. The subjects involved consist of a reasonably random sample of 25 native-born persons who were undergraduate students in selected schools at Northwestern University in 1950 and their spouses, or a total of 50 persons.¹⁴ Restrictions were imposed on the sampling process so as to maximize homogeneity with respect to socio-economic status, religion, race, age, etc.¹⁵ In addition, all couples had been married less than two years and were childless. The purpose of the latter restrictions was to minimize the effect of marital interaction and thus to keep the personalities of our subjects as similar as possible to their patterns at the time of selecting their spouses.

Strictly speaking, therefore, the population consists of all married couples at Northwestern University with the characteristics specified above. It is plausible but not demonstrable that findings based on this sample may be generally valid for young American urban middle-class "majority" couples with university training. Once the procedure and findings are clearly specified for the population sampled, determination of the range of generalizability becomes a question for further research.

Results. The basic test of our hypothesis

¹³ The degree of inter-rater reliability is indicated by the fact that the median of the 44 uncorrected correlations between the two raters was .60; the range was from .33 to .84.

¹⁴ Schools such as music and education were excluded from the defined population because of our suspicion that they might exercise an atypical selective bias. In 1950 there was a considerable number of married undergraduate students, most of whom were veterans.

¹⁵ The population consists of (a) married undergraduate students in selected schools of Northwestern University with certain specified social characteristics and (b) the spouses of these students irrespective of the latter's social characteristics. The specified characteristics are: white race, middle-class background (as revealed by father's occupation), within 19-26 age range, second or later generation native-born, and Christian or no specified religion.

rests upon what we call an "interspousal correlation." That is, we run a product-moment correlation on normalized mean ratings between the husbands on sub-variable X and their respective wives on sub-variable Y . A concrete example is the correlation between the husbands' overt nurturance within the marriage and their respective wives' covert succorance within.

With 44 sub-variables it is possible to compute 1936 interspousal correlations. Out of this total we hypothesized the signs of 388 on the basis of the theory of complementary needs. For example, we hypothesized that selected nurturance-succorance correlations would be positive and that selected nurturance-nurturance correlations would be negative. In accordance with the two kinds of complementariness noted above we hypothesized:

- (a) that 344 interspousal correlations, each of which involved two different needs or traits, would be positive; and
- (b) that 44 interspousal correlations involving the same need or trait would be negative.

We should regard the evidence as supporting the general statement of the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection if the number of correlations which were significant in the hypothesized direction should exceed the number we might expect to occur by chance. Since our hypothesis involved the designation of the sign of the correlation, it was appropriate to use a one-tailed test of significance.

Table 1 lists the pairs of variables involved in the 344 two-variable interspousal correlations, which were hypothesized to be positive. Table 2 lists the 44 one-variable interspousal correlations, which were hypothesized to be negative. Table 3 summarizes the totals of Tables 1 and 2.

Although it is clear from Table 4 that the data do not reveal anything like perfect results, it is equally clear that they diverge so much from chance in the direction hypothesized that the probability of the correctness of the null hypothesis is virtually infinitesimal. Thus it appears that persons like our subjects tend to

TABLE 1. SUMMARY OF 344 INTERSPOUSAL CORRELATIONS INVOLVING PAIRS OF NEEDS OR TRAITS
(For all r 's, $H: r > 0$)¹

Paired Variables	Number of r's						
	Number of Permutations		Total in Hypothesized Direction	Significant in			
				Hypothesized Direction		Opposite Direction	
	Total	Tested		.01	.05	.01	.05
<i>Two Needs</i>							
Abasement-Autonomy	32	24	23	—	3	—	—
Abasement-Dominance	32	16	14	7	12	—	—
Abasement-Hostility	32	24	22	3	8	—	—
Abasement-Nurturance	32	24	5	—	—	2	5
Abasement-Recognition	32	16	7	—	—	—	—
Achievement-Deference	16	8	6	1	2	—	—
Achievement-Dominance	16	8	2	—	—	—	2
Achievement-Recognition	16	8	4	—	1	—	—
Achievement-Status Aspiration	4	4	—	—	—	—	—
Autonomy-Deference	32	24	19	—	2	—	—
Autonomy-Hostility	32	16	9	—	1	—	—
Deference-Dominance	32	32	32	12	20	—	—
Deference-Hostility	32	8	7	2	3	—	—
Deference-Nurturance	32	24	5	—	—	1	5
Deference-Recognition	32	24	9	1	2	—	—
Dominance-Succorance	32	24	17	—	2	—	—
Nurturance-Succorance	32	24	20	1	2	—	—
Status Aspiration- Status Striving	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Two Traits</i>							
Anxiety-Emotionality	8	8	2	—	1	—	—
<i>One Need and One Trait</i>							
Achievement-Vicariousness	8	4	4	—	—	—	—
Dominance-Vicariousness	16	4	4	1	2	—	—
Nurturance-Anxiety	16	12	6	—	1	—	—
Recognition-Vicariousness	16	4	2	—	—	—	—
Status Striving-Vicariousness	4	2	2	—	1	—	—
Total	538	344	221	28	63	3	12

¹ Since a double-dichotomized variable consists of four sub-variables, there are 32 possible interspousal correlations. For example, each of the four abasement scores on husbands may be correlated with each of the four autonomy scores on wives. This gives 16 interspousal correlations. The other 16 correlations result from pairing each of the four abasement scores on wives with each of the four autonomy scores on husbands.

The number of correlations reported in the column headed "Total in Hypothesized Direction" involves all r 's of the appropriate sign, irrespective of whether or not they are adjudged to be significant.

Since a one-sided hypothesis is being tested, r 's are reported in the "Hypothesized Direction" column when they are of the proper sign and equal or exceed the critical values: $r_{.01} = .46$ and $r_{.05} = .34$ ($df = 23$).

Experimentally the r 's reported in the "Opposite Direction" columns constitute negative evidence. A two-sided test was used to determine their significance with $r_{.01} = .51$ and $r_{.05} = .40$. For this reason the frequencies in the "hypothesized" and "opposite" directions columns are not comparable.

Thus row 1 of the table may be read as follows. There are 32 possible interspousal correlations involving the variables abasement and autonomy. Of these 32, positive signs were hypothesized for 24 and these 24 coefficients were computed. Twenty-three of the 24 coefficients were positive. Three of them exceeded .34, and none was greater than .46. None of the 24 was greater in the negative direction than .40 (and indeed only one was negative).

TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF INTERSPOUSAL CORRELATIONS INVOLVING THE CORRELATION OF A NEED OR TRAIT WITH ITSELF

(For all r 's, $H: r < 0$) *

Variable	Number of r's						
	Number of Permutations		Total in Hypothesized Direction	Significant in			
				Hypothesized Direction		Opposite Direction	
	Total	Tested		.01	.05	.01	.05
<i>Needs</i>							
Abasement	16	4	4	2	3	—	—
Achievement	4	2	2	—	—	—	—
Approach	4	2	—	—	—	1	1
Autonomy	16	4	2	—	—	—	—
Deference	16	4	3	2	2	—	—
Dominance	16	4	4	—	—	—	—
Hostility	16	4	3	—	—	—	1
Nurturance	16	4	3	—	—	—	—
Recognition	16	4	4	—	—	—	—
Succorance	16	4	4	2	2	—	—
Status Aspiration	1	1	—	—	—	—	1
Status Striving	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
<i>Traits</i>							
Anxiety	4	2	1	—	—	1	1
Emotionality	4	2	2	—	1	—	—
Vicariousness	4	2	2	—	—	—	—
Total	150	44	35	6	8	2	4

* Footnote to Table 1 applies to this table as well except that in the present table all r 's are hypothesized to be negative.

TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF 388 INTERSPOUSAL CORRELATIONS (FROM TABLES 1 AND 2) ¹

Kind of Interspousal Correlation	Number of r 's						
	Number of Permutations		Total in Hypothesized Direction	Significant in			
				Hypothesized Direction		Opposite Direction	
	Total	Tested		.01	.05	.01	.05
Two Needs or Traits ²	538	344	221	28	63	3	12
One Need or Trait ³	150	44	35	6	8	2	4
Total	688	388	256	34	71	5	16

¹ For explanations of columns, see footnote to Table 1.

² From Table 1. It was hypothesized that these correlations would be positive.

³ From Table 2. It was hypothesized that these correlations would be negative.

TABLE 4. OBSERVED AND EXPECTED DISTRIBUTIONS OF HYPOTHEZED COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION AT .01 AND .05 LEVELS ¹

Coefficients of Correlation	.01 Level		.05 Level	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
Significant in hypothesized direction	34	3.88	71	19.40
Other	354	384.12	317	368.60
Total	388	388.00	388	388.00
Chi-square ²	228.40 ~ p < .001		141.68 ~ p < .001	

¹ Because the sign is hypothesized, a one-tailed significance test is used. N=25; df=23; $r_{.01}=.46$; $r_{.05}=.34$. The chi-square value for the .01 level is probably too high because the value of the expected frequency in the upper cell is less than the usually stated minimum of 5. If the value of 5 were substituted for 3.88, however, the chi-square would still have a value corresponding to $p < .001$. It may be argued, moreover, that since these correlations are all based on 25 couples or 50 persons, it is incorrect to apply the test which involves the assumption that the coefficients are independent. It is true that the variance

of the corresponding z's exceeds the theoretical value of $\frac{1}{n-3}$ as might be expected in a case of non-independence. When the empirical s^2 ($=.09397$) is substituted for the theoretical, however, the number of significant correlations still exceeds the chance expectation. For example, 12 are significant at the .01 level, yielding a significant chi-square of 15.116. This chi-square would still be significant at the .01 level if we raised the theoretical value in the upper cell from 3.88 to 5.

² Yates' correction for discontinuity has been applied.

select mates whose needs are complementary rather than similar to their own.¹⁶

Plans for Further Analyses. Table 4 presents a test of the general theory of

¹⁶ Although we feel perfectly justified in this application of the one-tailed test of significance, questions concerning its application have arisen in the literature. (Cf., e.g., C. J. Burke, "A Brief Note on One-Tailed Tests," *Psychological Bulletin*, 50 (1953), pp. 384-87, and the references cited there.) Since there may be readers who are skeptical concerning the applicability of the one-tailed test in this situation, we show the data below set up for the two-tailed test and note that the results are just as conclusive.

Coefficients of Correlation	.01 Level		.05 Level	
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected
In hypothesized direction:				
Significant	28	1.94	53	9.70
Non-significant	228	192.06	203	184.30
In opposite direction:				
Non-significant	127	192.06	116	184.30
Significant	5	1.94	16	9.70
Total	388	388.00	388	388.00
Chi-square	383.66 ~ p < .001		224.59 ~ p < .001	

Critical values for two-tailed test: $r_{.01}=.51$; $r_{.05}=.40$. In the top and bottom cells of the .01

complementary needs, and it is clear that the theory passes the test. We plan to make parallel tests on other sets of ratings, viz., those derived from a "holistic" interpretation of the need-interviews, from an analysis of the case-histories, from an analysis of the TAT protocols, and from conference judgments based upon all three sources of information.

Furthermore, each of the 388 correlations noted in Table 4 represents a specific sub-hypothesis. Before reporting on these sub-hypotheses, we wish to note the kind and degree of correlation between the specific sub-variables at the different levels of personality tapped by the three kinds of information. Let us illustrate the nature of this line of further investigation. From the ratings of Ktsanes and Ktsanes we have found significantly positive correlations between husband's overt succorance and wife's overt nurturance, but the reverse correlations (husband's overt nurturance with wife's overt succorance) were non-signifi-

cant. The column the expected frequencies are below the desired minimum. If these values are raised from 1.94 to 5, the resulting chi-square still greatly exceeds that needed for significance at the .001 level.

cant. It is of considerable interest to determine whether or not this pattern obtains at considerably deeper levels of personality.

In our research design we have also provided for a descriptive phase of the study. The major purposes of this phase are to illuminate the processes underlying the verified hypotheses and to provide ma-

terial for the generating of new and more refined hypotheses. The descriptive phase consists of (a) the most complete and intensive analysis of each subject's personality which our materials and talents will permit and (b) a case-by-case analysis of the degree of "meshing" of the personalities of the spouses.

SELF AND OTHER IN MORAL JUDGMENT *

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IT has for several decades been a fundamental tenet of sociological role theory that when an individual forms a conception of his own role in an interpersonal situation he does so in relation to the role of relevant others¹ in the situation. There is a reciprocity between the self role and the imputed "other" role, such that one should be predictable from the other. The expectations which an individual has regarding his own behavior are meaningful against the expectations he has regarding the behavior of others with whom he will interact.

In spite of wide acceptance of this point of view, there is very little empirical study directed toward validating and refining and implementing the viewpoint. This paper will explore the self-role-other-role relationship with the following objectives in mind: to produce preliminary evidence of the relationship between self- and other-role conceptions, to identify some characteristic self-other-role pairs, and to identify some of the ways in which the self- and other-roles are related to one another.

Since our primary objective was to find promising ways of conceptualizing the self-other-role relationship rather than to test hypotheses based upon established concepts,

we chose to secure data as freely structured by our subjects as possible and to treat the data by the method of successively revised typologies. Specifically, a class of 120 upper division college students were presented with a mimeographed description of a situation in which two college students steal 500 dollars together. Each respondent was then directed to identify himself as the principal actor in the situation, and to write his general reaction to finding himself in such a position. At a subsequent point he was asked to write specifically what he thought would be the effect of this misdeed upon his relations with family, friends, and organizations, in the event they did not know of the act and also in the event that they did know.² The analysis in this paper concerns the way in which the subject conceived his own role toward his friends and the way in which he conceived his friends' role toward himself after he had committed the theft.

This study is not to be confused with an attempt to predict *behavior*. It would indeed be naive to assume that the re-

* Expanded version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1953.

¹ The term "relevant others" is preferred to the more common "significant others" because it avoids the possibility of confusion arising from the quite different use of "significant" in connection with the "significant symbol."

² The present report continues analysis of the same data used in an earlier paper, "Moral Judgment: A Study in Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (February, 1952), pp. 70-77. The full questionnaire included a pre-marital sex episode as well as the theft situation, instructions to view a close friend as having been the principal actor in the situations, and several other questions not reported here. Answers to particular questions often ran a page or more in length, and completion of the questionnaire took from two to eight hours.

spondents could accurately anticipate their own behavior in a novel situation of this sort. In a real situation the individual's "field" would be much more complex than he could anticipate, resulting in behavior sometimes contrary to his expectations. Furthermore, an actual experience of this sort would almost certainly effect some change in his self-conception in accordance with the perceived self-role and other-roles. We are assuming, however, that the respondents are faithfully representing the conceptions they have of this type of offense and its relation to their self-image and the feelings they have about their friends. We are further assuming that the conceptions with which we are dealing are a governing element in the individual's day-to-day law-abiding behavior as the subject confronts numerous temptations and as he seeks to make adjustment after minor transgressions.

PRELIMINARY ROLE CLASSIFICATION

Self-role and other-role were treated separately, but according to similar procedure. From informal examination of the protocols, a list of attributes was prepared. For each protocol, the presence or absence of each attribute was recorded. As the recording progressed, the investigator was made aware of those attributes which could not readily be identified, and formed impressions regarding those attributes which seemed to be key attributes in contrast to others which bore no apparent relationship to other attributes. Accordingly, the list and definitions were revised and the tabulation begun again. After three such retabulations, a typology, based on key attributes, was developed, and after some further revisions a series of eleven self-roles and nine other-roles was identified. After all protocols had been classified and certain cross-tabulations had been tentatively made, the roles were condensed into three self-roles and three other-roles, and a category of "no role indicated."

The self- and other-roles in this preliminary classification fell together in pairs, showing the following relations (Table 1):

TABLE 1. PRELIMINARY TABULATION OF SELF AND OTHER ROLES: RELATION WITH FRIENDS IN THEFT SITUATION *

Other Roles	Self Roles			Total
	Withdrawal	Moral Maintenance	Passivity	
Impairment	16	7	7	30
Moralistic acceptance	6	10	5	21
External indifference	1	2	10	13
Total	23	19	22	64
Self- or other-role not indicated				24

* Of the 120 subjects, 105 returned questionnaires that were generally usable. Of these, however, only 88 questionnaires were sufficiently detailed or complete in the specific matter of relations with friends to include in this tabulation.

- (1) Assumption of an other-role of *impairment* tends to be associated with a self-role of *withdrawal* (P less than .01).³ All instances in which the respondent stated that he expected to be rejected by his friends or relegated permanently to a "second-class" friendship were included under *impairment*. *Withdrawal* included those instances in which the respondent would withdraw from association with his friends either before or after his friends knew of his offense.⁴
- (2) An assumed other-role of *moralistic acceptance* tends to be associated with a self-role of *moral maintenance* (P less than .05). *Moralistic acceptance* involves an assumption that one's friends will still be as

³ Tests of significance are by chi-square applied to a fourfold table, following the form of "A" and "not A" correlated with "a" and "not a." Two tests were made on each association, one in which the "not indicated" cases were included in the table and one in which they were omitted. Since the "not indicated" other-role is associated significantly (P less than .01) with the *withdrawal* self-role, only the measures of significance based on tables omitting the "not indicated" responses are reported in the text.

⁴ A distinction between whether individuals modified self-role before or only after knowledge of their offense had reached their friends was part of the original eleven self-roles. An exploratory condensation of roles into "pre-active" and "post-active" was abandoned after it was found to be unrelated to other variables under examination.

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good friends as ever in spite of the offense, but that the friends will clearly register their disapproval and will expect the subject to make the situation right or reform his behavior. A self-role was classified under *moral maintenance* if the respondent confessed and explained to his friends, made special efforts to demonstrate to them his improved behavior, or in other ways maintained his friendships while actively giving proof to his friends of his good character, his desire to make amends, and the like. (3) An assumed other role of *external indifference* tends to be associated with a self-role of *passivity* (P less than .001).⁵ In these instances the subject felt that his friends would not let his offense affect their relations in any way (regardless of whether they covertly disapproved his action or not), and the subject would continue in his relations with his friends as before.

REFINED ROLE ANALYSIS

Having justified our assumption of the correlation between self- and other-roles by identifying the two types of roles independently, we sought further refinement by examining the roles in their characteristic combinations. All protocols were divided into five groups, the first three corresponding to the three type-combinations of self- and other-roles, group four consisting of cases in which one of the two roles was not indicated, and group five consisting of all cases exceptional to the type-combinations. A careful restudy of the protocols by groups, in an effort to specify the attributes most characteristic of each type and to judge the degree to which the types are in fact homogeneous, led to several refinements (see Table 2). The most general findings are as follows: (1) the three type-combinations remained, though the *external*

indifference-passivity combination tended to vanish with the introduction of a new dimension to the classification;⁶ (2) a new differentiation based on the way in which self- and other-role conceptions were harmonized was introduced; (3) certain frequent inharmonious role combinations were revealed; and (4) some hints for the interpretation of cases in which the role description was incomplete were provided.

(1) The central finding of this investigation, the three major self-other pairs, may be viewed as a case in the interrelation of potentially conflicting norms. Thus it may be related to such work as that of Samuel Stouffer,⁷ dealing with the interrelation of particularistic and universalistic norms.

Each of our types may be conceived as a special way of relating the two types of norms. In the *indifference-passivity* pattern the *personal loyalty* norms are conceived as paramount in the primary group relationship and the *property* norms, which might conflict in theory, are not conceived as conflicting in practice because they are defined as irrelevant. In the *impairment-withdrawal* pattern the property norm represents an absolute condition for the applicability of the personal loyalty norms. The cases are uniform in viewing the friendship norms as having no relevance when the societal norm has been violated.

The *moralistic acceptance-maintenance* combination is somewhat more complex. The following excerpts will help to clarify the interpretations we shall make of this relationship.

(#126) If it became common knowledge I would admit it and try to explain the predicament which caused the behavior. . . . As I know I would try and pay the money back I would tell them this. I would beg them to

⁵ In order to guard against the possibility that this association, the most highly significant of the three, might have accounted for spurious associations in the other two instances, chi-square was also computed using only *impairment* versus *moralistic acceptance* on one axis and *withdrawal* versus *moral maintenance* on the other. With 39 cases, and the minimum expected cell value in excess of 7, the association was significant below the five per cent level.

⁶ This combination remains highly important, however, in the sex offense situation, which was subjected to a portion of the same analysis. This is in keeping with the prevailing conception that the sex offense has only private implications.

⁷ Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December, 1949), pp. 707-717; Stouffer and Jackson Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (March, 1951), pp. 395-406.

TABLE 2. REVISED TABULATION OF SELF-OTHER-ROLE COMBINATIONS: RELATION WITH FRIENDS IN THEFT SITUATION

Role Combinations (Other-role—Self-role)	N	Criteria	Frequent Characteristics
Predetermined harmony	(30)	Preconceived self- and other-role conceptions such that the self-role is consistent with the expectations which are part of the other-role.	
Impairment- Withdrawal	19	Friends will reject offender or seriously lessen intimacy of relations. Offender will voluntarily withdraw from all such relations.	Harder to associate with close friends than with distant friends. Several would try to right selves with friends before withdrawing. Most would return money but would not reveal selves to authorities.
Moralistic Acceptance- Moral Maintenance	8	Friends will not reject offender, but assume that he will right himself in some way to justify their continued friendship. Offender will right self with friends by confession, explanation, righting the wrong, or compensatory good works.	Nearly all feel easier to associate with close friends than with distant friends. Several would try to right selves with group before story had gotten out. Nearly all would either return money or confess to authorities.
Indifference-Passivity	3	Friends would not concern selves with incident in any way. Offender would make no adjustment in relations with friends.	Make no effort to repay money or confess to authorities.
Selective harmony	(11)	Varied reactions expected from friends. But only those reactions which harmonize with pre-determined self-role are declared to be legitimate.	
Moralistic Acceptance- Moral Maintenance	10	<i>True</i> friends will not reject offender, but assume that he will right himself to justify continued friendship. Those who reject the offender deserve no consideration. Offender will right self with friends in some way.	Many express great reluctance to identify in the situation (to answer questionnaire). Most would repay money but would not confess to authorities. Most feel easier to associate with close friends than with distant friends.
Indifference-Passivity	1	Sensible people would not concern selves with incident in any way. Offender would make no adjustment in relations with anyone.	
Adjustive harmony	(11)	Neither self- nor other-roles pre-defined, but will adjust self-role to whatever friends expect.	
Moralistic Acceptance or Impairment	5	Will make whatever efforts to right selves with friends that they demand. Accept right of friends to reject if they wish.	Nearly all find easier to associate with close friends than with distant friends. Nearly all would make efforts to repay money.
Impairment or Indifference	6	Will accept right of friends either to continue friendship or sever relations, and will adjust to each friend according to the expectations of the other-role.	Most withdraw from friends tentatively, waiting for friends to take initiative in restoring relationships. Several try hard to avoid detection.

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Role Combinations (Other-role—Self-role)	N	Criteria	Frequent Characteristics
Autonomous self-role	(14)	No other-role indicated. Definite self-role, with no indication that it is conditional upon any particular other-role.	
Withdrawal	8	Offender will voluntarily withdraw from relations with friends.	Several reluctant to identify. Nearly all would return money or confess to authorities. Several try to avoid detection.
Moral Maintenance	6	Offender will make effort to right self with friends in some way.	Several reluctant to identify. All would return money or confess to authorities.
No self-role	5	Other-role described but no self-role indicated.	All describe other-role as Impairment. Several reluctant to identify.
Discrepant roles	(13)	Self- and other-roles pre-defined, but self-role does not correspond to expectations of other-role.	
Moralistic Acceptance or Indifference with Withdrawal	6	Offender will withdraw while being fairly sure that friends will not reject him or impair relationship.	Most state either that continued association will hurt their friends, or that their friends' kindness would make them feel even worse.
Impairment with Moral Maintenance or Passivity	6	Friends will reject offender, but he will either make no change or take steps to right self with them.	
Special case	1	Unclassifiable elsewhere.	Expects rejection, but will handle by consistently denying the incident.
Insufficient information for classification	4		
Total cases included	88		

understand and let me prove I am still trustworthy. . . . My friends would not turn against me I am sure. I would never be elected to office of treasurer I do believe unless to show their faith in my future conduct and to give me a chance to prove myself.

(#117) [Would confess and] set things aright. I doubt if my friends would think too much of my intelligence in such an act. Their trust wouldn't be as strong. The only thing admirable would be my honest confession, and any fool can be honest. Since I realized my mistake our friendships (to my close friends) would probably change very little in the long run.

We conclude that cognizance is taken of both sets of norms and a reconciliation is effected by making the personal loyalty norms *supportive* of the property norms

and imposing a special responsibility upon friends for the moral character of their close associates, which in turn absolves the friends from any responsibility for assisting in punitive societal activity.

Relevance of these types to questions of role-conflict and conflicting norms can only be clarified in the light of a distinction between *norms* and *roles*. By the manner in which our questions are posed we have attempted arbitrarily to eliminate *role conflict*. A role consists of these norms which are felt to be relevant to a given status. By role conflict we mean conflicting obligations which arise from the simultaneous occupancy of two statuses. In Stouffer's work, for instance, there is role conflict because the respondent is forced to think of himself as simultaneously performing

both the role of a proctor and the role of a friend. In the relevant sections of our questionnaire the respondent's attention is directed to the single role of friend. The role is the context within which the generalized norms of society are translated into particular behavioral requirements and within which the various norms must be assigned a working relationship with one another.

The tendency to equate norms and roles, as in speaking of friendship norms as belonging only to the friendship role and civil norms as belonging only to the citizen role, is misleading. Our data indicate that only an inconsiderable fraction of our respondents (*Indifference-passivity* roles) deny the relevance of the civil norms to the friendship role. To the great majority the thief has violated not only society's norms but also the norms of friendship. The distinctiveness of the alternative role conceptions lies in the different ways in which reconciliation is effected between potentially conflicting norms within a given role.⁸

Some further light may be shed on the difference between the *impairment-withdrawal* and the *moralistic acceptance-maintenance* combinations by a contrast in the way of viewing primary group-secondary group differences. Several of the *impairment-withdrawal* respondents indicated that it would be easier for them to associate with their "acquaintances" than with their close friends. The following excerpt illustrates this outlook:

(#101) I would probably, out of shame, shy away from my closest friends who I respect the most.

By contrast, most of the *moralistic acceptance-maintenance* subjects felt that they could go to their close friends but could not stand to be with their acquaintances. For example,

(#62) I'm quite sure that my close friends would be likely to understand to a degree, although they would be disappointed in me.

⁸ There are some suggestions of conflicting norms within the friendship role in spite of the means of reconciliation indicated. Undoubtedly these conflicts would be heightened in an actual situation. In addition, role conflict would almost certainly be present in a real situation.

More remote contacts would probably be horrified and ostracize me completely.

In one case the primary group is viewed as highly critical of norm violations and the secondary group less so, while in the other case the primary group is viewed as something of a haven for the norm violator which the secondary group is not. The suggestion here is toward a revision of the general assumption that the primary group is affectively homogeneous, and toward a theory which sees the different ways in which the primary group is perceived as a factor in the way in which different social norms are meshed into a coordinated pair of self- and other-roles.

(2) One type of harmony between self- and other-role conceptions, which we shall call *predetermined harmony* because the subject has a ready-made picture of his own and his friends' roles, has been assumed in the investigation to this point. From examination of those instances in which classification seemed to be forced, two other bases for harmony emerged. In a few cases the subject specified neither self- nor other-role with definiteness, but stated that his behavior would depend upon what his friends did. This relationship will be called *adjustive harmony* since the subject established no role definitions in advance and prepared merely to adjust his own role to that of the relevant others. An interesting aspect of this type is the possibly limited awareness of available self-other role combinations. It seems implicit in one group of these cases that they see only *impairment-withdrawal* and *indifference-passivity* as alternatives and do not have in mind the taking of active steps to re-establish their moral standing in the group. The number of cases, however, is trivial and the evidence is implicit rather than explicit in the data.

A third basis of harmony is more important and appears in those cases in which the individual anticipates a range of roles from his friends, but defines only one of these other-roles as legitimate. His self-role is then harmonized with what he conceives to be the legitimate other-role and he is able to disregard anticipated alternative other-roles. In the case of *predeter-*

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mined harmony the individual relates his self-role to the anticipated behavior of those who constitute relevant others to him: in the present case, which we shall call *selective harmony*, he further limits those who constitute relevant others to persons who exhibit a particular kind of role.

The following excerpts will illustrate this relationship:

(#98) The act would in no way affect my relations. I wouldn't act differently toward any of my close friends. . . . Some would revert to type toward me but this is to be expected.

(#115) Well, for one thing I would find out who were truly my friends. My friends would want to hear my side and then they would honestly continue being friendly. . . . Those who just gossiped and guessed and spread stories, I wouldn't worry too much about.

(#36) Would expect friends to treat and feel toward me as I would feel toward them if they had done it.

(3) Discrepant roles, or those pairs in which the self-role does not correspond to the expectations of the other-role, constitute the crucial cases for *reciprocal role* theory. They must be analyzed so as (a) to extend the theory to include them, (b) to define the limits within which the theory applies, or (c) to nullify the theory. The responses of those whose self-role is withdrawal, although not required by the "other," afford some hints for interpretation.

First, to this stage in the discussion we have been implicitly assuming that only one category of other-role is operating on the questionnaire respondent, namely, that of the friend. The questions themselves were intended to restrict attention insofar as possible to this pair of roles. But in some instances, as the following statements illustrate, respondents were also taking account of the expectations of others toward the friend.

(#19) If I knew this situation had become known I would immediately confess to my close friends and withdraw from contact with them. I am almost positive they would offer to help me in any way possible and if they were able to do so I would accept their aid but not their association *for I fear it would harm them.*

(#55) If a person was a real close friend of mine I imagine she would still be regardless. I would admire my friend for wanting to stick by me but would feel *she was jeopardizing her own position and future* and would try to avoid her as much as possible.

The limited number of cases and brief responses do not permit a full analysis of the dynamics of self-role in relation to third-party expectations, but we may conclude tentatively that these cases are not necessarily exceptional to reciprocal role theory.

Posing a more difficult problem for interpretation are those who comment as follows:

(#11) If I were still accepted, as I believe I would be, I would still move to another locality. . . . The associations no doubt would be ended for it would be I who would feel guilty so that their kindness would make me feel more so.

This illustration serves to point out the opposition between two aspects of the response to violating the norm in question. There is the shame-guilt reaction, a *sentiment* aroused in the violator and part of the role expected of him by his friends, and on the other hand there is the expected *behavior*, which, in the cases at hand involves maintaining relations with the friends. The shame-guilt sentiment is an unpleasant feeling which is enhanced in its intensity by anything which focuses attention on the norm in question or on the general requirements of the friendship role. Particularly in the case of the *moralistic acceptance* role the individual must enter relations which enhance his guilt initially in order to secure justification from his friends for a reduction in guilt.

We may now propose a hypothesis governing whether the individual will undergo the initially unpleasant experience of heightened guilt in order to conform to the expectation of remaining in the friendship relation. *Conformity to the expectation to remain with the group will take place to the degree to which the friendship group is felt to have governance over the norm in question.* Thus if the friendship group is thought to have the right to forgive or exonerate the individual, he will seek to reinstate himself in the group, thereby expecting to experience a reduction in guilt.

On the other hand, to the degree to which the friendship group is not able legitimately to exonerate or forgive the individual, he will be inclined to avoid the group in spite of its expectation that he will remain within it. This same explanation may serve also for most cases in which there is an autonomous self-role of *withdrawal*, in which the expectation of the other is thought to be irrelevant.

Thus in speculating concerning the discrepant role combinations, we have pointed to two types of conditions limiting the applicability of reciprocal role theory to any specific empirical self-other pair relation. One of these conditions is the intervention of other roles additional to the self-friend pairs, and the other is the general relevance of the interpersonal relation in question to the norm under consideration.⁹

(4) An explanation has already been offered for some cases in which both roles are not indicated. Those in which the autonomous self-role is *moral maintenance* will be discussed later. Two general comments are in order concerning the entire group of cases. First of all, it is within this group and among those exhibiting *selective harmony* that an expressed reluctance to identify in the situation at all is most common. In some cases this unwillingness itself has led to responses of doubtful sincerity, while in others it seems to reflect extreme emotional disturbance at the thought of such a violation which may be associated with unusually internalized moral sentiments. In the latter instances, inability to formulate any self-role is understandable, the more so since the assumed other-role is impairment. While the most extreme cases of the harmonious *impairment-withdrawal* combinations want to go to another city to start life over, the possibility of escaping the guilt even by such extreme action may not be present in these cases.

The second point to be made is that a certain number of these cases are undoubtedly persons who merely failed through oversight to fill out all the required information. With the present data it is not

possible to differentiate such cases except quite impressionistically.

FAMILY ROLES

The purpose of bringing some analysis of assumed self-family roles into the present discussion is twofold. First, since our analysis of friend roles has suggested that some of the variability exhibited in our protocols may reflect the different ways in which different people view the primary group, the introduction of a somewhat different kind of primary group should extend our understanding in this area. Second, it is likely that some of the non-reciprocal role patterns in the friend-self situation might be understandable by comparison with the same individuals' role conceptions in the family situation.

The different character of the family as a primary group is immediately apparent in the fact of fewer *impairment* and *withdrawal* roles and in the increase in the harmonious *moralistic acceptance-maintenance* pair from eight cases with friends to 33 in the family (see Table 3). The special personal responsibility for its members is present to a greater degree in the family than among close friends.

The character of these relations is further indicated by ten cases which were not classifiable under any of the categories previously listed and have been designated "solidary." At first glance these looked like the harmonious *indifference-passivity* combination. But the frequent emphasis among these cases on the hurt the offender had done his parents, along with other indications, made them distinctly different from any conception that the offense was irrelevant to the relationship. However, there was no indication of any type of reinstating or rejecting role for either party. The impression seemed to be that all parties would feel that a great wrong had been done the relationship, but it was assumed that all parties would seek to maintain the relationship.

The key to this latter role pair seems to be a sense that maintenance of the family relationship is obligatory rather than voluntary. In the friend relationship when the *moralistic acceptance-maintenance* combination was not known or available the alternative (when the moral code was re-

⁹ We shall leave consideration of the reverse type of discrepant role to a later section of this paper.

TABLE 3. FAMILY ROLES IN RELATION TO FRIEND ROLES

Friend Roles	Family Roles ¹												Dy	Sol ²	Insuf	
	Ph			Sh			Ah		Au		Ns	Spec				
	Im-W	M-M	In-P	M-M	In-P	MIm	ImIn	W	MM	MIn-W						Im-MP
Predetermined harmony																
Impairment-Withdrawal	4	5	1						1	2				5	1	
Moralistic Acceptance-Maintenance		7												1		
Indifference-Passivity			1												1	
Selective Harmony																
Moralistic Acceptance-Maintenance		7	1													3
Indifference-Passivity																
Adjustive Harmony																
Moralistic Acceptance or Impairment		2											1		2	
Impairment or Indifference			1					2					1		2	
Autonomous self-role																
Withdrawal		2							1	4			1			
Moral Maintenance		4								2						
No self-role	1		1								3					
Discrepant roles																
Moralistic Acceptance or Indifference																
with Withdrawal		2									2		1			1
Impairment with Moralistic Maintenance																
of Passivity		3	1					1					1			
Special		1														
Insufficient information																4
Total Cases	5	33	6				4	5	4	5	2	3	1	10	10	10

¹ Names of family roles have been abbreviated, but are presented in the same order as the friend roles. For fuller description of the types see Table 2.² Abbreviation for *solidary*. This special role reflecting the implicit solidarity of the family is discussed in the text.

garded as relevant to the friend relationship) was the *impairment-withdrawal* combination. In the same circumstances the conception of the family relation as obligatory rather than voluntary ruled out this possibility for ten of the respondents, resulting in the new role combination.

Shifting to an examination of the *type of relationship* between self- and other-roles, we may begin with the harmonious relations. The *predetermined* and *adjustive* pose no particular problem since they revolve simply about the degree to which the individual has the situation plotted out in detail in advance or has merely a hazy conception of what to expect. The basis for *selective* harmony, for asserting that only certain types of friend roles are legitimate, requires further exploration. The family-self-role combinations of the eleven cases which showed *selective* harmony with friends provide almost too clear an explanation of the basis for selective harmony. All of the eight who supplied sufficient information about the family relationship for classification fell into a category of *predetermined* harmony, incorporating *the same type of role* which they had declared to be the legitimate role for friends. We may conclude that these people had learned to expect a certain type of role in the family and to regard it as the *right* one. Experience had indicated that outside the family a variety of reactions were to be expected. The respondents use the family pattern as the standard by which to select among the multiple other-roles. For these people the family, but not the friends, become the *reference group* for the individual, in the more refined sense of that term which Sherif has recently proposed.¹⁰

By this same principle of carry-over of the self-role from one situation to another, several cases involving an autonomous self-role of *moral maintenance* and discrepant combinations of *impairment* with *moral maintenance* or *passivity* are clarified. In eight out of twelve of these cases the family relationship is one of *predetermined*

harmony, with the self-role the same as that found in the friend relationship.

SUMMARY

From the foregoing exploratory analysis of open-ended responses concerning interpersonal relations among friends after a major violation of the mores, several hypotheses appear plausible.

(1) There are three general ways in which a primary group whose membership is regarded as voluntary can cope with an instance in which a member violates a major societal norm. These general ways reflect alternate conceptions of the group's responsibility for the enforcement of societal norms and of its responsibility for the persons of its members.

(2) The relationship which tends to prevail in the absence of complicating factors is one of harmony between a member's conception of how his friends would treat him if he violated a norm and his conception of his own role toward his friends.

(3) Depending upon how clear-cut and unitary an image the member has of the hypothetical situation, this harmony will range along a continuum from a clear preconception of what the self- and other-roles will be to a determination to adjust to whatever is demanded of him.

(4) The following conditions limit the development of the simple role reciprocities specified above:

- (a) The particular norm must be thought to be under the *governance* of the group in question, that is, the group must be thought to have the right to exonerate or forgive the offender.
- (b) The particular "other" whose role is under consideration must take precedence in the individual's attention over any additional types of persons or groups who may have expectations regarding the norm violation in question.
- (c) Role conceptions for this type of situation must not have been so fully internalized from a prior interpersonal relationship as to take precedence over the interpersonal dynamics of the particular situation in question.

(5) In spite of the presence of complicating conditions preventing the simple

¹⁰ Muzafer Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Group in Human Relations," in Sherif and M. O. Wilson, editors, *Group Relations at the Crossroads*, New York: Harper, 1953, pp. 203-228.

role reciprocity posited above, the member may *impose* a reciprocity by relating his own role conception *selectively* only to those whose roles which harmonize with his anticipated self-role.

By way of qualification it must be pointed out that this paper is entirely an exploratory search for profitable formulations of the situational dynamics of self-other role relations. The data by their very unstructured nature are not designed to provide definitive tests of relationships. We propose merely that the suggestions contained herein be used as a basis for establishing more precise hypotheses and tests. The categories have been checked only informally for reliability, and many quite suggestive and clearly relevant features of the data have been disregarded in the treatment.

APPENDIX

Theft Incident

"A" and a friend, "B," have been in an automobile accident which resulted in some damage to the property of another person. "A" appears to be liable for the damage and, having no insurance, is likely to be in serious difficulty if the money cannot be produced immediately. The injured party is further threatening to file a criminal complaint against "A" if not paid promptly. Neither "A" nor "B" has any personal or family financial resources beyond the bare minimum required for livelihood. Entirely by chance, "A" and "B" discover that a certain man, about whom they know nothing else, keeps a large sum of money hidden in his garage. The suggestion to steal this money, made first in jest, becomes more serious as "A" and "B" discuss it. Impressed by the hopelessness of "A's" position, "A" and "B" decide to go together to take the money. The money, amounting to \$500, is taken successfully and without detection. "A" immediately pays off his liability, amounting to about \$400, and the remaining money is split evenly between the two of them.

Sections of the questionnaire used in this report (Each paragraph appeared on a separate sheet in the booklet presented to the subjects).

(G) Now picture yourself as "A." You have acted exactly in the manner described. Thinking

of yourself as having just done this, what do you think your immediate reactions would be? Especially, how would you *feel*? What would your emotions be? Characterize them as fully as possible. Then, what would you *do*? What immediate actions would you take, if any? What changes would be made in your usual behavior immediately? What changes would occur over a longer period?

(Y) . . . Now, think of several of your more important present plans for the immediate future and for the long-range future. What effects would your participation in the act described have on these? Which ones would be affected and which would not? State rather fully how they would be affected. . . .

(D) So far as you know, you have every reason to believe that your secret has not and will not be revealed to anyone. With this knowledge, would the fact that you have committed the act described affect in any way your relations with any of your present close friends? Would you feel or act any differently toward any of your close friends than you did before engaging in this act? Describe in detail any such changes in your feelings or actions in association with close friends.

Would the fact that you had acted in the way specified affect in any way your other social life? List each of the various clubs and organizations to which you belong and indicate for each whether there would be any difference. Describe in each case what these differences would be. . . .

(M) Now visualize a change in your situation, as follows. From some remarks that you overhear between some friends of yours, it seems to you quite probable that several different people have found out about the happening and that the word is spreading rapidly and widely through gossip channels. Soon, you think, all your friends will know about it and it is even probable that it will reach members of your family. In the light of this new knowledge, go back over the last page of questions and re-answer them. State in detail how your previous answers would now be changed. Describe how your relations with friends, with the organizations to which you belong, and members of your own family would now be affected. Also, how do you suppose all these various associates of yours would feel toward you? And how do you suppose they would act toward you?

PRIMARY GROUP INFLUENCES ON PUBLIC OPINION *

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COOLEY¹ contended that the primary group is an important determinant of the attitudes of its members. In recent decades this contention has received extensive documentation. Thrasher,² and Whyte³ have described the effect which pressures exerted by adolescent gangs have on the attitudes of their members. Child,⁴ Park,⁵ and Zorbaugh⁶ have investigated the role which primary group pressures play in producing the attitudinal conflicts which are typical of persons in marginal statuses. Stouffer, *et al.*⁷ found that the attitudes of American soldiers were greatly influenced by the norms of their military units which served as primary groups. These and similar studies have established the validity of Cooley's contention that primary group pressures do in fact exert considerable influence upon the attitudes of group members.

Although this sociological principle has received wide acceptance, it has had little impact upon public opinion research. Indeed, there is reason to doubt that it is applicable to the kinds of attitudes which

are studied by the public opinion analyst. The many studies which have confirmed the principle typically have been concerned with attitudes which were immediately relevant to the manifest goals of the primary group. The code of the gang, the shared attitudes of a military unit, the allegiances and loyalties of a family, all constitute sets of attitudes which must be shared by the group members if the group is to achieve its goals. It is not surprising that primary groups exert effective pressures toward conformity with attitudinal norms when the attitudes under investigation are clearly instrumental in determining the group's success or survival. But the attitudes which are studied by public opinion research are ordinarily far less obviously essential for the maintenance of the primary group. Primary groups can and do function smoothly even though the members hold varying views concerning the control of atomic energy, farm price supports, or any of a great number of public issues. In fact, it may be doubted that any large proportion of primary groups have norms concerning such issues or exert overt pressures to gain uniformity of attitude toward such issues.⁸

It is the purpose of this paper to present a theory in which primary group pressures will be seen to influence attitudes of the type studied by public opinion research. Two empirical studies based on that theory will then be reported.

⁸ It is to be noted that two studies which have found that primary group pressures influence attitudes toward such issues both involved populations in which relevant group norms were present. These studies are: T. M. Newcomb's *Personality and Social Change*, New York: Dryden Press, 1943, and *The People's Choice* by P. F. Lazarsfeld *et al.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. The issues in both of these studies had been subjected to intense and widespread public controversy. Both Newcomb and Lazarsfeld report data suggesting that under those conditions many primary groups did develop norms concerning such issues.

* Condensation of a doctoral dissertation submitted at the University of Michigan in 1951. The writer is indebted to Drs. Daniel Katz, B. Fisher, R. Freedman, T. Newcomb and H. Peak for the assistance they have given in planning and conducting the studies reported in this paper.

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

² F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

³ W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

⁴ I. L. Child, *Italian or American*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943.

⁵ R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (1928), pp. 881-893.

⁶ H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

⁷ S. A. Stouffer, E. A. Suchman, L. C. DeVinney, S. A. Star, and R. N. Williams, *The American Soldier*, Vol. 1, *Adjustment During Army Life*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 130-131.

THEORY

The following theory involves an elaboration on the principle that primary group pressures exert effects on the attitudes of group members. In its present form this principle is most clearly applicable to situations where group norms are known to exist and where overt signs of such pressures are accessible to observation. Many of the situations confronting the public opinion analyst may fail to provide either of these conditions. In order to deal with these situations we shall postulate that people not only respond to real and overt pressures toward conformity with existing group norms, but that they also respond to *anticipated* pressures toward conformity with what they *believe* to be the group preference. In its emphasis on anticipated pressures, this postulate expresses Cooley's⁹ and Mead's¹⁰ contention that the individual is constantly adjusting his behavior in terms of the evaluative responses which he anticipates from other persons. In stressing the individual's belief concerning the group preference, this postulate expresses the principle that the effective stimulus situation is the situation as it is perceived. If an individual believes that his primary group prefers one attitude over another, this belief may function as a norm even though no group norm exists. The individual may be expected to adjust his behavior and attitudes in response to anticipated sanctions regardless of the reality of the norm. If the attitude is one which is seldom evoked in the group, the individual will have little opportunity to test the validity of his belief or his anticipation of sanctions. Thus anticipated sanctions may have enduring effects on attitudes even in the absence of real norms and sanctions.

In the following discussion the individual's anticipation of group sanctions will be called his "perceived pressures." The attitude which he believes to be preferred by his primary group will be called his "perceived norm."

It is apparent that perceived pressures

cannot lead an individual to change his attitude if that individual's perceived norm is already congruent with his attitude. When such congruence is lacking, however, perceived pressures should constitute a force in the direction of greater conformity with the perceived norm (toward closer congruence of attitude and perceived norm). It is presumed that this force will be opposed by other forces; and, consequently, that perceived pressures may rarely succeed in bringing about perfect congruence of attitudes and perceived norms. But the stronger the perceived pressures, the smaller should be the resulting disparity between an individual's attitude and his perceived norm. If an individual's perceived norm is more "pro" than his own attitude, such perceived pressures should tend to cause him to become more pro in attitude. The extent of this change will depend upon the strength of the perceived pressures. Thus, among persons whose perceived norms are more pro than their own attitudes, those under strong perceived pressures should develop attitudes which are more pro than those of persons under weaker pressures. The converse of this statement may be made for people whose perceived norms are more "con" than their own attitudes.

The forces which are exerted on attitudes by these perceived pressures may or may not have an appreciable effect on the shape of the *distribution* of attitudes held by a large population. If the direction and magnitude of such forces are relatively random within the population, the effect on one person's attitude may be cancelled by an opposite effect on the attitude of another person. Thus the distribution of attitudes might be unaffected even though the attitudes of many individuals have been affected. However, if either the direction or magnitude of these forces is not random within the population, their effects on the attitude of one person will not be cancelled systematically by their effects on the attitude of another, and the distribution of attitudes will be affected.

The following hypothesis concerning the direction of perceived pressures has been derived though a complex inferential proc-

⁹ C. H. Cooley, *ibid.*

¹⁰ G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

ess which is described elsewhere.¹¹ If an individual's perceived norm is not congruent with his attitude, the chances are greater than even that his perceived norm deviates from his attitude in a direction which is toward the mean attitude in the population. Thus a person whose own attitude is more pro than is the mean attitude in the population will probably have a perceived norm which is less pro than his own attitude.

The above hypothesis will be subjected to test later in this paper, and may now be regarded as only an assumption which permits a further elaboration of the theory which is being developed here. If this assumption is correct the forces exerted by perceived pressures are by no means randomly distributed within a population. Instead they are distributed in a manner such that they systematically reduce deviations from the mean attitude in the population. They should have the net effect of making the population more homogeneous with respect to attitudes.

It has been noted above that the amount of influence which will be exerted by perceived pressures should vary with the strength of those pressures. Therefore the degree of attitudinal homogeneity which such pressures will create within a population should also vary with the strength of those pressures. If a large population were divided into two smaller populations in such a manner that one consisted of persons under strong perceived pressures and the other consisted of persons under weaker perceived pressures, the former should be more homogeneous than the latter.

It is desirable to note a condition which limits the applicability of the above statements of theory. Even very strong perceived pressures will fail to change an individual's attitude if his attitude is already congruent with his perceived norm. If factors other than perceived pressures have combined to produce an attitude which is congruent, or almost congruent, with the perceived norm, then perceived pressures can cause very little change in

that attitude. The ability of perceived pressures to increase the homogeneity of the attitudes held by a population depends, therefore, upon the existence within the population of many persons for whom attitudes and perceived norms are not congruent. If a population were divided into two smaller populations, one consisting of persons whose attitudes and perceived norms are congruent, and one consisting of persons whose attitudes and perceived norms are not congruent, the attitudes of the latter population should be more homogeneous than those of the former.

The fact that perceived pressures can affect attitudes only if those attitudes are not congruent with perceived norms provides the basis for another proposition. Within a category consisting of persons who are alike with respect to some identifying characteristic (such as age, income, education, or organizational affiliation), the attitudes of those persons for whom attitudes and perceived norms are not congruent will tend to lie closer to the mean attitude of the population than will the attitudes of those for whom congruence exists. Thus if a sample of Republicans is drawn from a population, it is to be predicted that those Republicans whose attitudes (toward a specific issue) are not congruent with their perceived norms will tend to occupy positions on the attitude continuum which are closer to the population mean than are the positions occupied by other Republicans.

The remainder of this paper will report two studies which have been based on the foregoing theory. Each of these studies has investigated people's attitudes toward the business concentration or "big business" issue. This issue was selected because it is one which, at the time the data were gathered, was not being subjected to intense and widespread public controversy. Consequently it was believed that relatively few primary groups would have real norms concerning this issue and that overt primary group pressures would be at a minimum.

STUDY I

Two hundred and seventy-eight persons responded to a questionnaire. Sixty-seven

¹¹ I. D. Steiner, *Some Effects of Perceived Primary Group Pressures on Attitudes toward a National Issue*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1951.

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of these persons were shop workers, mechanics, and janitors who were visited during their lunch hours. Twenty-eight persons were visited at a church gathering; thirty-eight were farmers at a Grange meeting. Eighty-nine persons were students in evening extension classes conducted by the University of Michigan in the city of Detroit. Fifty-six residents of a small rural and resort town responded to the questionnaire by mail.

The first item of the questionnaire called for a self-rating on attitude toward big business. The respondent was asked to place a check mark in one of the twelve squares included in a row of squares. At one end of the row was the caption: "Big business should have *much more* power than it has now." At the other end was the caption: "Big business should have *much less* power than it has now." In quantifying responses to this item the squares were numbered serially from 1 (representing the largest desired decrease in big business power) to 12. The number for the square which the individual checked was taken as his attitude score.

The individual's "ten closest friends" were chosen to represent a primary group in this research. In order to determine the individual's view of the preferred attitude of this primary group (i.e., his perceived norm), the second item on the questionnaire asked:

Now, imagine that your 10 closest friends all answered the question you just answered by putting a check mark in one of the squares. Put a check mark in the square you think would get the most check marks.

Answers to this question were scored in the same fashion as were the answers to the first question.

Two questionnaire items were designed to provide an index of the strength of perceived pressures.

If some or all of your 10 closest friends were to disagree with you about big business, how much would it matter to you?

....I wouldn't like it at all.

....I would prefer that they didn't disagree with me, but it wouldn't matter much.

....It wouldn't matter at all to me.

How would your 10 closest friends feel about it if you were to disagree with them about big business?

....Most of them wouldn't like it at all.

....Most of them would prefer that I didn't disagree, but it wouldn't matter much.

....It wouldn't matter at all to most of them.

In quantifying responses to these two items, the responses were assigned values ranging from 1 (for the "wouldn't matter at all" answers) to 3 (for the "wouldn't like it at all" answers). The numerical values of the alternatives checked by the respondent were then summed to provide an index of the strength of perceived pressure he felt toward conformity with the perceived norm of this primary group.

Of the 278 subjects used in this study, 183 held attitudes toward big business which were not congruent with their perceived norms (i.e., their answers to questions one and two were not identical). These 183 persons were assigned to either a category consisting of persons under strong perceived pressures or a category consisting of persons under weak perceived pressures. Those scoring 4 or above on the index of perceived pressures were placed in the strong perceived pressures category; those scoring 3 or below were placed in the weak perceived pressures category. The mean discrepancy between the attitudes and perceived norms of the 96 persons in the strong perceived pressures category was found to be 1.72. The corresponding mean discrepancy for the 87 weak pressures subjects was 2.80. The difference between these two means is significant at the .001 level by *t* test. This finding is consistent with the above theory.

Ninety-five persons had perceived norms which were more pro big business than were their own attitudes. The theory would predict that the attitudes of such persons will be more pro if they are under strong perceived pressures than if they are under weak perceived pressures. Of these 95 persons, 47 were under strong perceived pressures. Their mean attitude score was 3.81. The 48 persons under weak perceived pressures had a mean attitude score of 3.00. (High scores are pro big business.)

The difference between these means is significant at the .02 level by *t* test.

Eighty-eight persons had perceived norms which were more con big business than were their own attitudes. Forty-nine of these persons were under strong perceived pressures. They obtained a mean attitude score of 6.00. The 39 persons under weak perceived pressures obtained a mean score of 6.56. The difference between these means is significant at the .20 level by *t* test. The probability of getting a difference this large in the hypothesized direction is less than .10. Although not conclusive, the difference between means is sufficiently great to permit moderate confirmation of the theory.

The theory has assumed that an individual's perceived norm is more likely to deviate from his attitude in the direction which is toward the mean attitude in the population than to deviate in the opposite direction. Examination of the data shows that 77 per cent of the persons whose attitudes and perceived norms were not congruent had perceived norms which deviated in the predicted direction. The probability of obtaining a percentage this large when the true percentage is 50 is less than .01.

The above theory has proposed that perceived pressures should have the effect of making a population more homogeneous. The stronger the perceived pressures, the greater the degree of homogeneity which should result. Analysis of the data shows that a distribution of the attitude scores received by persons under strong perceived pressures had a standard deviation of 1.71. In the case of persons under weak pressures the standard deviation was 2.72. The difference between these is significant at the .01 level by *F* test. The means of the two distributions are not significantly different. These findings are consistent with the theory.

Another derivation from the theory leads to the following prediction: a distribution of the attitude scores of persons whose attitudes and perceived norms are not congruent will have a smaller standard deviation than will a distribution of the attitude scores of persons for whom congruence does exist. The 185 persons whose

attitudes and perceived norms were not congruent produced a distribution of scores which had a standard deviation of 2.22. The distribution of scores received by the 95 persons whose attitudes and perceived norms were congruent had a standard deviation of 2.80. This difference is significant at the .001 level by *F* test. The means of the scores received by these two categories of persons were not significantly different.

STUDY II

This study was designed to test certain aspects of the theory with data provided by a national sample of persons. It was intended to serve as a supplement to the above study which employed a sample from an undefined universe.

The author inserted questions into the interview schedule used in a national survey of opinion concerning the big business issue. This survey was conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan during 1950-51.¹² Three hundred and three persons, representing a randomly selected portion of a national sample, were asked whether their 10 closest friends would probably agree rather well with one another concerning the big business issue. Those who indicated that their 10 closest friends would agree were then asked whether or not they personally agreed with their 10 closest friends on this issue.¹³

¹² See "Big Business from the Viewpoint of the Public," Survey Research Center Publication, 1951, for a more complete description of the sampling and interviewing techniques used in this survey. The writer is indebted to B. Fisher and S. Withey for permission to insert questions into the interview schedule.

¹³ Each respondent was handed eleven cards, each of which bore the title of a group or category of people. One card carried the title: "Your Ten Closest Friends." Other cards carried the titles: Rich People; Republicans; White Collar People; Poorer People; People Who Run Big Businesses; Members of Labor Unions; People Who Run Small Businesses; People Who Run Labor Unions; and Skilled Workers. The interviewer called the respondent's attention to each card and asked, "Would you say that mostly feel the same way about big business or would they mostly disagree among themselves?" Having obtained a judgment concerning each card, the respondent was next asked, "Now, which of these groups (those which the respondent had reported to be in essential agreement) would probably feel

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Responses to these questions provided the basis on which respondents were assigned either to a category consisting of persons whose attitudes and perceived norms were congruent or to a category consisting of persons whose attitudes and perceived norms were not congruent. Into the former category were placed the 161 persons who did not report disagreement with the attitude of their 10 closest friends. Into the other category were placed the 129 persons who did report such disagreement.¹⁴

An index of respondents' attitudes toward big business was obtained as follows. Each respondent was handed five cards bearing the titles: State Governments; Big Businesses; Labor Unions; The National Government; and Businesses that are Not Big. He was first asked to rank the cards according to the amount of power he thought the designated institutions exercise on the American scene. Next he was asked to rank the institutions in a way which would indicate the relative amounts of power he *wished* them to have. The difference between the rank positions given to big business on these two orderings providing one criterion of the respondent's attitude.

Another criterion was a rating made by the content analysts after they had read the answers to 22 other questions concerning the relative merits of big and small businesses. The analysts made a count of the number of favorable and of unfavorable references to big businesses and then

rated the respondent's overall attitude on a 5-point rating scale.

Through a process of linear transformation and summation the scores obtained on these two criteria were combined to yield an index of attitude toward big business. Because the analysts' ratings were based on many more bits of information than were the scores obtained by the ranking technique, the former were arbitrarily given fifty per cent more weight in determining the composite scores.¹⁵

The theory would predict a larger standard deviation for a distribution of the scores received by persons whose attitudes and perceived norms are congruent than would be predicted for a distribution of the scores received by other persons. The data confirm this prediction. The standard deviation of the scores received by persons in the first category was 5.8 whereas that in the second category was 4.3. The difference between the two is significant at the .001 level by F test. (The means of the scores received by persons in these two categories are not significantly different.) This obtained difference between standard deviations is not attributable to differences between the socio-economic statuses, class identifications, or educational levels of the persons in these two categories. The two categories did not differ significantly from one another with respect to the distribution of any of these three variables.¹⁶

The theory has also predicted that even though persons are alike with respect to some identifying characteristic, the attitudes of those persons whose perceived norms and attitudes are congruent will differ systematically from the attitudes of persons for whom such congruence does not exist. More precisely, it was predicted that the attitudes of persons for whom congruence does not exist will more closely approximate the mean attitude in the sample. As a test of this prediction each of the respondents who said he would agree with the views of ten specified groups was assigned to one of two categories as above.

the same way *you* feel about big business?" "Which of these groups would probably disagree with the way you feel about big business?"

¹⁴Ninety-two per cent of these persons indicated that their 10 closest friends would disagree among themselves, and that, consequently, the respondent was in disagreement with at least some of his 10 closest friends. These answers do not necessarily indicate a gap between the respondent's own attitude and the attitude he perceives to be most widely preferred by his 10 closest friends. However, in the first study it was found that 87 per cent of all persons who reported disagreement among their 10 closest friends also attributed a modal attitude to that group which was different from their own attitude. Therefore, it seems reasonable to regard this second category as one consisting almost entirely of persons whose attitudes and perceived norms are not congruent.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the mathematical steps involved in obtaining the composite attitude scores see I. D. Steiner, *ibid.*

¹⁶ See I. D. Steiner, *ibid.*, for a discussion of the techniques used to measure these three variables.

Thus, into one category were placed all persons who said they agreed with the Republican view of big business and whose perceived norms and attitudes were not congruent. Into a parallel category were placed all persons who said they agreed with the Republican view and whose perceived norms and attitudes were congruent. The means of the attitude scores received by persons in these two categories were then compared. Table 1 presents the data for ten such comparisons.

It is to be noted that the means of the scores received by persons whose attitudes

Both of the findings of this study are consistent with the theory which has been developed above.

SUMMARY

A widely accepted sociological principle maintains that an individual's attitudes are influenced by the conformity pressures exerted on him by his primary groups. In its present form this principle is most clearly applicable to situations where well developed group norms exist and where overt pressures are exerted to enforce those norms.

TABLE 1. MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES OF PERSONS WHO SAID EACH OF TEN GROUPS WOULD AGREE WITH THEM SHOWN SEPARATELY FOR PERSONS IN TWO CATEGORIES

Groups	Respondents who reported disagreement with their ten closest friends		Respondents who did not report disagreement with their ten closest friends	
	N	Mean *	N	Mean
People who run big businesses	22	17.36	17	14.53
Republicans	24	18.03	15	14.87
Rich people	14	18.86	17	15.88
People who run labor unions	9	18.44	9	17.67
Skilled workers	23	18.17	22	18.68
Democrats	12	18.25	17	19.76
White collar workers	28	18.28	23	20.48
Members of labor unions	20	18.15	22	20.41
Poorer people	24	17.63	37	20.46
People who run small businesses	42	19.69	39	21.15

*The mean for the entire sample is 18.66.

are not congruent with their perceived norms range only between 17.36 and 19.69. (Low scores are pro big business.) Regardless of the group with which they report agreement, their mean score closely approximates the mean score for the entire sample, which is 18.66.

In the case of respondents whose perceived norms and attitudes were congruent, the data assume a different pattern. In 9 out of 10 cases these means deviate farther from the mean for the entire sample than do the means for persons in the other category. Although the differences between these pairs of mean scores tend not to be statistically significant when tested individually, a collective test based on the direction of the differences does indicate statistical significance. The probability of getting nine out of ten differences in the predicted direction is less than .01.

The theory presented in this paper has involved an elaboration of the above principle with the aim of extending its applicability to other situations.

It has been postulated that *perceived* pressures toward conformity with a *perceived* norm may influence attitudes in much the same manner as do the overt sanctions which enforce conformity with real norms. A number of predictions were made concerning the effects of such perceived pressures on the attitudes of individuals and on the distribution of attitudes within a population. Two empirical studies have yielded data which are consistent with those predictions. Because both of these studies employed correlational designs they cannot be said to have provided proof of the causal connections which are postulated by the theory. Nevertheless, the fact

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that all eight predictions were confirmed by the data provides presumptive evidence of the validity of the theory.

It is tentatively concluded that perceived primary group pressures can have considerable effect on attitudes even when there is reason to doubt that group norms and sanctions are operating. It is suggested that the net effect of these perceived pressures is to increase the homogeneity of attitudes within a population, and that the greater the strength of these pressures, the greater is the degree of homogeneity which they can create. This conclusion is in harmony with Redfield's observation that communities in which primary group bonds are strong tend to be relatively homogeneous

with respect to attitudes.¹⁷ It is also consistent with Angell's contention that societal agreement with respect to important integrating attitudes may be encouraged through the creation of strong primary group bonds.¹⁸

If these conclusions are confirmed by further research, the public opinion analyst will have been provided with a useful explanatory principle. More important, another step will have been taken toward the integration of sociological theory and public opinion research.

¹⁷ See, for example, R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

¹⁸ R. C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society*, Ann Arbor: Overbeck Co., 1947.

THE FUSION OF AN INDIVIDUAL WITH THE ORGANIZATION *

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THE purpose of this article is to report on some of the results of a research project aimed at understanding the variables that operate to make an individual feel fused (cohesive) with the organization in which he works. Bakke points out that problems of fusion arise "because the organization attempts to make every individual conform completely to its demands; that is, to make an agent of the individual for the realization of organizational objectives, and because simultaneously, the individual tries to seek self-expression; that is, to make an agency of the organization for the realization of personal objectives." Bakke calls the former the *socializing process* and the latter the *personalizing process*. The simultaneous

operation of the two he calls the *fusion process*.

The present paper is a study of the degree to which the personalizing process finds expression in a business organization.¹ It is based on the hypothesis that the degree to which any individual is fused with the organization is a function of the degree to which the personalizing process finds expression. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the greater the expression of the personalizing process, the greater the perceived fusion of the individual with the organization.

In quantitative terms, the individual's perceived degree of fusion with the organization will be:²

* The material in this article is abstracted from a forthcoming publication by the author tentatively entitled, *Studies in Organizational Dynamics*. The author wishes to express gratitude to Professor E. W. Bakke, Director of the Yale Labor and Management Center. Many of the theoretical notions presented in this paper have grown out of discussions with him, and the concept of the "Fusion Process" itself is one of his contributions to organizational theory.

¹ In a subsequent paper we plan to deal with the scoring of the organizational factors of the socializing process.

² The scales described in this paper admit only to ordinal properties. Thus, the numbers 0, 1, 2, and 3 are to mean nothing more than 1 is larger than 0, 2 is larger than 1, 3 is larger than 2. The zero point is defined as that point where the individual reports absolutely no expression of the factor being considered.

- (0) *zero* when that individual reports (or when we can infer that he perceives) no expression of his personality requirements;
- (1) *minimal* when the individual reports that he is obtaining some personality expression, but that it is not adequate;
- (2) *adequate* when the individual reports that he is obtaining adequate personality expression;
- (3) *maximum* when the individual reports that he is obtaining all the personality expression that he desires.

The preliminary steps to arrive at an individual's fusion score are as follows:

- (1) Using the data of a semi-structured interview, list all the personality factors that the individual reported he desired to express. Personality factors, in this paper, are defined as any desire expressed by the individual or any desire on the part of the individual inferred by the researcher.
- (2) To the right of each Personality Factor (PF), list the reported or inferred Degree of Expression (DE).
- (3) Total all the DE scores.
- (4) Multiply the total number of PF's listed by three, the maximum possible expression score any factor can receive.
- (5) Divide the sum of the DE scores by the ME scores.

The number obtained is simply a score, not a percentage. It serves to place the individual on a position in a scale ranging from zero to one. If A has a score of .60 and B has a score of .30, all we may say is that A's score is higher; but we may not say that A's score is twice as high as B's.

To date this formula only takes into account the number of personality factors. Another consideration is the degree of importance that each individual places on these factors. Some PF factors may be more important than others. Lewin's concept of "potency" is used here to denote the psychological importance of any given personality factor to the individual.

The following procedure is used in order to take into account the effects of potency. An analysis of the data indicates that individuals report personality factors (PF) that have high potency and some that have

extremely high potency. The high potency factors are represented by the letters HPF; the extremely high ones by the letters EHPF. If the person reports the factor as being more important than the others, but not the *most* important, it is called HPF. Also, if the factors are spontaneously mentioned two or three times in connection with different questions in the interview not designed to tap directly for personality factors, it is listed as HPF. The EHPF are obtained by looking at the answers to the question, "Of all the factors we have talked about during this interview, which is most important to you as a person?" Also, if a factor is mentioned spontaneously more than three times for different questions, it is labeled EHPF. In the scoring each HPF is given a weight of 2, and each EHPF, a weight of 4.

VALIDITY

In discussing the problems of validity, it is necessary to differentiate between operational validity and predictive validity.³ Operational validity is obtained by answering the question, "Do the personalizing scores measure what they purport to measure?" Predictive validity is obtained by answering the question, "Can we predict people's future behavior with the score obtained in this research?"

The operational validity involves two problems. First, there are the questions whether the personality factors that we represent in the personalizing process are actually those the individual perceives to be in this process and whether the degree of importance we assign to them is the degree of importance that he assigns to them. Since in over 90 per cent of the cases the personality factors are obtained directly from the respondent, the operational validity in terms of the number of PF's is high. Validity tests are required for the degree of potency importance, however. For this purpose, a random sample of raw

³ For the distinction between operational and predictive validity, the writer is indebted to Fred Massarik and others, "Sociometric Choral and Organizational Effectiveness: A Multi-Relational Approach," Report No. 4, Human Relations Research Group, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California at Los Angeles, 1953.

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data was given to two disinterested but trained observers. Neither had ever seen the data before. They were asked to infer the potency of each factor. The agreement between them was .81, and the agreement of each with the author was .79 and .88, respectively.⁴

The second issue of operational validity is whether these scales measure accurately the degree of expression of each of the personality factors. In order to test the operational validity of inferences regarding the degree of expression, a random sample of 25 inferred DE scores was submitted to two judges, unacquainted with the project, who were asked to make judgments of the degree of actual expression. The results showed high agreement, with indexes of .90 and .92.

Predictive validity refers to ability to predict behavior other than that which is directly measured (or described) by our instruments. One possible test of the predictive validity is to see if the scores allow us to predict who will and who will not leave the organization.

During the period under consideration 37 employees left the organization. Sixteen of these came into the organization after the research was begun and thus were not on the original list of respondents. Nine of the remaining 21 were missed in departments where the sample was less than 100 per cent. This left a total of 12 to be considered.

The basis of a low score was made relative to the mode in the department. Thus, after examining the frequency distribution scores of all the departments, a cut-off point at score 70 was arbitrarily chosen. On the basis of this, it was predicted that persons with low personalizing expression scores (i.e., below 70) would leave the organization, or if not, would do one of the following:

- (1) Manifest symptoms of frustration and conflict. The former arises from the barrier to personality expression; the

latter from remaining in a frustrating situation because of economic necessity.

- (2) Manifest symptoms of apathy and disinterest. The individual may take out much of the possible attractiveness the organization might have for him. He may manifest characteristics of apathy, indifference, lethargy, and sluggishness. He may, for example, show little interest in his work, set his work goals very low, complain if anyone attempts to raise his goals.
- (3) Express fear of leaving and insecurity at the prospect of looking for and adapting to new situations.

On the other hand, people with high personalizing scores (above 70) would not be expected to leave the organization. If they are observed to leave, the new possibility may be perceived as providing opportunities for more complete fusion in the person's life with respect to another organization.

Similarly, individuals with high personalizing scores who leave should either be doing so because of factors not related to their fusion with the organization, or because their fusion, for some reason, is not in the best interests of the organization. Individuals with high personalizing scores who leave for other reasons than the above should experience conflict.

RESULTS

Eight of the twelve people who left have the following personalizing scores: 51; 30; 51; 63; 42; 65; 15; and 48. All these scores are below the cut-off point of 70.

The remaining four left for reasons not related to their personalizing score in the organization.⁵

- (a) Left to go to Texas with her husband (86)
- (b) Left to go to Michigan with her family (81)
- (c) Pregnant (77)
- (d) Pregnant (78)

Another test is to note all the employees with low personalizing scores who continue

⁴ The question is always present as to whether or not the respondents were truthful during the interviews. The predictive validity results, if high, prove that the respondents were truthful; if not, we would not be able to predict their future behavior.

⁵ Both c and d who have relatively high personalizing scores (77, 78) voluntarily inquired about the possibility of returning to the organization after their children were born.

to remain in the organization. An analysis of the data reveals the following results:

Person A (score 44) expressed the most bitter sentiments about the organization recorded in the entire department. Although this person expressed an unusually high degree of conflict and tension, he remained be-

dislikes it and is actively looking for new work.

Person F (score 56) admits that he dislikes work, but is still uncertain about leaving. He does not know if any other opportunity will be better. This person is a recent addition to the department and is past the training state.

TABLE 1. PROPORTION OF PERSONALITY FACTORS REQUIRING EXPRESSION, DEPARTMENT A

Personality Factors *	RP	HP	EHP	Potencies	Rank
Self-Responsibility	.60	.20	.05	.85	1
Passivity	.15	.25	.15	.55	2
Isolation	.15	.20	.15	.50	3
Variety	.50	—	—	.50	3
Security	.25	.15	.10	.50	3
Community Wages	.40	.05	—	.45	4
Directivity	.35	—	—	.35	5
Sociability	—	.20	.10	.30	6
Easy Work	.15	.05	.10	.30	6
Detail	.15	—	.10	.25	7
Industry	—	.05	.15	.20	8
Short Hours	.10	.10	—	.20	8
Fixedness	.15	—	—	.15	9
Sameness	.05	—	—	.05	10
Challenge	.05	—	—	.05	10
Mechanicalness	.05	—	—	.05	10

RP = Regular Potency

HP = High Potency

EHP = Extremely High Potency

* The terms may be more fully stated as follows:

Self-Responsibility—wants to be his own boss, receive a minimum of supervision, and to be willingly his own policeman.

Passivity—prefers to receive directions from others.

Isolation—wants to work independently from other employees.

Variety—prefers many different workflow activities.

Security—wishes a fairly constant, predictable position as regards his job, his world, and his future.

Community Wages—desires a wage equal to the community average for comparable work.

Directivity—wants to initiate action for others.

Sociability—prefers constantly interacting with customers.

Easy Work—wants easy, non-challenging work.

Detail—prefers many items in his workflow activities.

Industry—wants more work than he can do.

Short Hours—likes as brief a working day as possible.

Fixedness—willing to remain settled and not advance.

Sameness—content to perform the same activity always.

Challenge—likes to be constantly overcoming new barriers and achieving new goals.

Mechanicalness—likes to work on machines.

cause of old age and the proximity of retirement.

Person B (score 64) admitted disliking working in the department, and is at the moment actively looking for new employment.

Person C (score 09) and Person D (score 46) are both trainees and are having difficulty on the job. C expects to return to old job if present situation remains the same.

Person E (score 17) is a relative newcomer to the organization. He states that he

Person G (score 69) says that he dislikes working in the organization. He does not plan to leave because he is too old and is ready for retirement. Person G has been an employee for over 30 years.

Person H (score 58) expresses desire to leave. Interviewer notes that it is doubtful whether she will leave. He infers the person is passive and fears the process of looking for a new job.

Person I (score 65) does not plan to leave although she expresses high negative feelings

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Person J (score 0) expresses the greatest amount of conflict and tension reported by any person interviewed. She is a trainee trying to learn to operate a bookkeeping machine. Amidst crying and swearing, she vowed to leave unless "things get better."

Finally, *no* individual with a personalizing score over 70 has left, or, as far as is known at the moment, is planning to leave the organization. On the basis of these data, some predictive validity to the personalizing score may be attributed. However, caution should be observed against undue optimism until further research is carried out with larger samples, in different organizations, and under various conditions.

EXAMPLES OF PERSONALITY FACTORS

The research revealed interesting characteristics of the personality factors mentioned by employees. The data are from two departments whose results are representative of two different trends in the organization. The departments are part of a banking organization located in a Middle Atlantic city.

In Table 1 twenty employees report only sixteen personality factors. People do not report numerous or infinite factors as might be supposed, and most factors do not have extremely high potencies; very few are described as having extremely high potency.

The above factors are on various levels of generality. Some are "clinical" (passivity, isolation); others are more related to what psychologists call "abilities" (mechanicalness). Although it may seem non-rigorous to include these factors under the same list, it must still be kept in mind that the predictive validity of the scores are based upon them.

In Table 2 we see how much expression these personality factors are finding in the work situation. An examination of the scores in Table 2 shows that 75 per cent of the employees have high fusion scores (above 60). This suggests that the organizational demands in this department are congruent with the personality requirements of the employees.

Because of the formal and informal organizational activities in this department, the employees are required to work in a

situation where they are isolated, work under conditions of self-responsibility, are passive, and continually in contact with customers. These organizational requirements are congruent with the top-ranking personality factors mentioned above (see Table 1). The only major organizational requirement opposed to a personality factor is the policy of maintaining wages at a level substantially below the community average. The employees complain about this policy and criticize it strongly. How-

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF FUSION SCORES IN DEPARTMENT A

Score	Number of Employees	Per Cent of Employees
100-90	1	.05
89-80	5	.25
79-70	5	.25
69-60	4	.20
59-50		
49-40	3	.15
39-30		
29-20		
19-10	1	.05
9- 0	1	.05

ever, because they are able to work in a situation where their fusion scores are still high in spite of wages, there is no reason to expect mass exits or any other type of mass resistance. Union officials who have tried to organize the employees have repeatedly failed.⁶

In Department B, the expectations of the employees are not as congruent with their personality requirements. The workflow requirements of this department are such that people are continually working on highly mechanized accounting machines. They never meet the public nor are they supposed to interact with each other.

The personality factors listed in Department A reappear in Department B with two additions. In Department B there are two factors called "informal activities" and "group belongingness" which appear for the first time. These activities are ranked 1 and 2 respectively by the employees. The informal activities include such things as shouting and singing, individually and in groups, while working. These informal

⁶ The results in Department A are representative of all remaining departments in the organization except two.

activities are antagonistic to the formal demands of the organization. The "group belongingness" refers to the many informal sub-groups that exist in the department, providing the employees with frequent contact with each other.

Another major difference is the degree of importance attached to the personality factors. In Department A, the majority of factors are shown to have only regular potency, but in Department B, the majority of factors have high and extremely high potency. This is especially true for such factors as "self-responsibility," "easy work," "informal group activities," and "group belongingness." We may suppose this high potency to be due to two sets of factors. First is the fact that the employees would obtain little personality expression from the formal activities. This leads them to create informal activities to make up for the deficiencies in the formal ones. The creation and then constant maintenance of these informal antagonistic activities may induce the employees to overemphasize their importance in order to make certain that management understands them. Second, the employees are much younger as a group. In most cases, this is their first job and thus their first experience of the necessity to suppress their many learned abilities and initiative in the work situation.

In Table 3 are presented the fusion scores of the employees in Department B. The interesting point, it would appear, is that in spite of the incongruence between the personality requirements of the employees and the formal demands of the organization, as a group the employees exhibit high fusion scores. The distribution is similar to that in Department A. The crucial difference, however, is that the employees' fusion in Department B is based upon the *informal* activities, not upon the activities formally defined by the organiza-

tion. The executives are critical of the informal activities and continually try to curb them. However, if the above results are valid, they may indicate that the antagonistic informal activities are the executives' best friend in their attempt to make the employees become a part of the organization.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF FUSION SCORES IN DEPARTMENT B

Score	Number of Employees	Per Cent of Employees
100-90	5	.15
89-80	8	.24
79-70	10	.31
69-60	6	.18
59-50	2	.06
49-40	1	.03
39-30		
29-20		
19-10		
9-0	1	.03

The need for group belongingness does not seem to exist for all employees. In Department A where the personality requirements are congruent with the organization's demands, thereby permitting high individual fusion, the employees hardly ever mention the need to belong to an informal group in their work situation. In fact, over 90 per cent state that they have no close friends in the organization, although the majority of them have worked together for ten years or more. In Department B, where the organizational demands are antagonistic to the individuals' personality requirements, the need for group belongingness seems great. In this group, 85 per cent of the employees have made close friends with some of their fellow employees, even though the majority of them have been working together for less than one year.

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ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN A SMALL CITY

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CERTAIN pervasive regularities of human social behavior seem to the sociologist to point to the utility of the higher-level sociological abstractions, such as social structure or social organization. However, the search for objective, reliable, behavioral indicators or "reflectors," from which such abstractions may be inferred with some confidence, is a difficult one. The research reported in this paper investigates the usefulness of the Chapin Social Participation (SP) schedule¹ as one such indicator.

The two related hypotheses² to be examined can be stated as:

- (1) The SP schedule, supplemented by certain "standard" sociological information, yields data providing an objective basis for inferences regarding patterns of leadership in voluntary organizations in a small American city; and

- (2) These voluntary-organization leadership-patterns constitute an integral part of the power structure or influence system of the social organization of the community studied.³

The potential scientific significance of evidence favoring the hypotheses lies in the implications about the nature of the social organization of other similar communities. It is appropriate to ask what would constitute evidence toward acceptance of the above hypotheses. One set of answers is:

- (1) The magnitude of a person's SP score should be associated with whether or not he is regarded as a "community leader" in terms of some independent criterion;
- (2) If, through time, a person's position in the structure changes, as judged by some independent criterion, his patterns of social participation (ways in which he participates in which specific organizations) should reflect such change;
- (3) To be considered an aspect of the community's social organization, leader-patterns should persist through time—both in regard to SP scores and other characteristics—and independently of individuals who fill various positions in the posited structure at a given point of time;
- (4) The participation patterns of those regarded as community leaders should be interrelated to a degree and in a manner which suggests the applicability of the term "system."

PROCEDURE

During World War II a Minnesota city of about 10,000 population was subjected to intensive study by a number of Uni-

¹ F. S. Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, 4 (April, 1939), pp. 157-166; F. S. Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, New York: Harper, 1947, pp. 62ff., pp. 195-197.

² The general point of view of this study is believed to be consonant with the following, all of which, however, are addressed to somewhat different questions: Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (1946), pp. 686-698; W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, especially chapter 16; James E. White, "Theory and Method for Research in Community Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (1950), pp. 50-60; Walter T. Martin, "A Consideration of Differences in the Extent and Location of the Formal Associational Activities of Rural-Urban Fringe Residents," *American Sociological Review*, 17 (1952), pp. 687-694; Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1951, especially chapter 12; F. A. Bushee, "Social Organizations in a Small City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (1945), pp. 217-226; W. A. Anderson, "The Family and Individual Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (1943), pp. 420-424; William G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), pp. 380-383.

³ This may be regarded as the local correlate of Williams' conclusion about American society that "Large-scale centralized formal organizations occupy a very significant and increasingly strategic position in the total social structure." R. M. Williams, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 462.

versity of Minnesota scholars.⁴ The general characteristics of the community which may have affected the nature of the social organization include: a history of economic and demographic stability; quite highly industrialized, yet not markedly affected by the war; the economic center of a prosperous farming area; description by researchers as, and apparently self-conception as, a "conservative" town.⁵ It seems likely that these characteristics would provide favorable conditions for the appearance of evidence supporting the hypotheses advanced.

In connection with monograph Number 3 of the series mentioned, SP data and information on sex, age, income, occupation, and education, were collected in 1943 on:

- (1) Thirty community leaders, chosen to constitute the presumable universe of such recognized leaders by a committee of "knowledgeable citizens" under the chairmanship of the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce—this group of thirty leaders is designated herein the "1943 Selected Leaders" ('43 SL); and
- (2) A representative sample⁶ of the adult population of Red Wing, from 233 households, or about 10 per cent of the households in the city—to be referred to as the "citizen sample." From the citizen sample, two additional groups were sorted out: (a) 16 persons from high occupational categories who had high SP scores—called "1943 Emergent Leaders" ('43 EL); and (b) 7 officials of labor unions—"1943 Labor Leaders" ('43 LL). These last two groups, who may be regarded as a sample of such persons in

the community, were originally picked for another purpose, but serve certain useful functions in this analysis.⁷

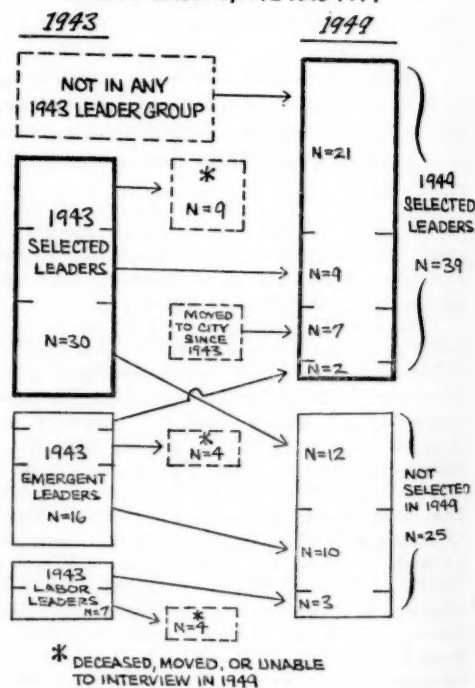
Six years later, similar data were gathered on:

- (1) Thirty-nine persons, chosen as the contemporary community leaders in the same manner as before—the "1949 Selected Leaders" ('49 SL); and
- (2) Those of the 1943 selected, emergent, and labor leaders who could again be located and interviewed—25 such persons were found, who had in common the characteristic of not having been "selected" in 1949 although a 1943 member of one of the leader groups.

FINDINGS

The make-up of the various leader groups, and the changes in personnel over the six-year span, are shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1. THE MOBILITY OF CIVIC LEADERSHIP STATUS—PERSONNEL OF RED WING LEADER GROUPS, 1943 AND 1949



⁴ Between 1944 and 1946, a series of eleven monographs on various aspects of the Red Wing, Minnesota, community was published under the title, *The Community Basis for Postwar Planning* (University of Minnesota Press). Number 3 of that series, "The Impact of the War on Community Leadership and Opinion in Red Wing" by F. S. Chapin, appeared in 1945, and is based partly on some of the data reported herein. The series was reviewed in Number 12, "Red Wing—Five Years Later" by R. S. Vaile (1952). My grateful thanks are due Dr. Chapin, who supplied all the data on which the present study is based.

⁵ See Vaile, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

⁶ Although not strictly random, the sample was judged representative by checks with more complete data, such as the 1940 census. See Chapin, Number 3 of series cited, pp. 4-5 and 15 ff. This sample seems fully acceptable for present purposes.

⁷ See Number 3 of series cited. The N's of the three leader groups differ slightly from those of similar groups in that monograph, due to a different handling of several "overlap" cases—persons who were in two of the leader groups—and as a result of a recheck of the original data which removed several minor discrepancies.

⁸ Into: "and under."

⁹ Chi-square Contingency materially unstable.

TABLE 1.

SP Score

96-over
84-95
72-83
60-71
48-59
36-47
24-35
12-23
0-11

Total

¹ Source

citizen sample selected 1. The sample was 51.3 was 51.3. 65.10. All and 95 scores of per cent SP scores bility tha between are due to square tes SL do not SL, with

As shown in Figure 1, only nine individuals (30 per cent of the '43 SL; 23 per cent of the '49 SL) appear in both of the selected leader groups. Hence, sociological similarities between the two selected groups may be regarded as evidence for the operation in this community of a supra-personal social structure through which civic leadership positions are filled and replacements made. This inference is contingent on demonstrating also that the characteristics of the selected groups differ from those of the general populace of the town.

The distribution of SP scores of the 1943

differ in means.¹⁰ Thus we may say that there is some association between SP score and being a selected leader in 1943, and the distribution of selected leaders' SP scores is similar at two times six years apart, with largely different individuals composing the leader groups.

In regard to several social characteristics of the leader groups, the pattern is the same as that shown above for SP scores. That is, the '43 SL differed significantly from the '43 citizen sample in education, income, and occupational category, but the '43 SL and the '49 SL did not differ sig-

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF SP SCORES OF 1943 RED WING CITIZEN SAMPLE, OF 1943 SELECTED LEADERS, AND OF 1949 SELECTED LEADERS

SP Score	'43 Citizen Sample ¹		'43 SL		'49 SL	
	N	Cumulative Per Cent	N	Cumulative Per Cent	N	Cumulative Per Cent
96-over			1	3.3	6	15.4
84-95	2	.8	4	16.7	1	17.9
72-83	1	1.1		16.7	6	33.3
60-71	4	2.7	3	26.7	5	46.2
48-59	8	5.7	7	50.0	7	64.1
36-47	10	9.5	6	70.0	7	82.1
24-35	15	15.2	6	90.0	5	94.9
12-23	57	36.9	2	96.7	2	100.0
0-11	166	100.0	1	100.0		
Total	263		30		39	

¹ Source: Chapin, Bulletin 3 of series cited, p. 24.

citizen sample and of the 1943 and 1949 selected leader groups are shown in Table 1. The mean SP score of the '43 citizen sample was 13.40; that of the '43 SL was 51.33; and that of the '49 SL was 65.10. About 90 per cent of the '43 SL and 95 per cent of the '49 SL had SP scores of 24 and over, compared to 15 per cent of the '43 citizen sample. If the SP scores are trichotomized,⁸ the probability that the differences in distribution between the citizen sample and '43 SL are due to chance is less than .001, by chi-square test.⁹ On the other hand, the '43 SL do *not* differ significantly from the '49 SL, with the same trichotomy, nor do they

nificantly in education, occupational category, sex, or age.¹¹

¹⁰ Chi-square value: 2.91; P about .30. The difference in means, by t-test, was not significant; P about .10. The S.D. of the '43 SL was 28.256; the S.D. of the '49 SL was 37.762.

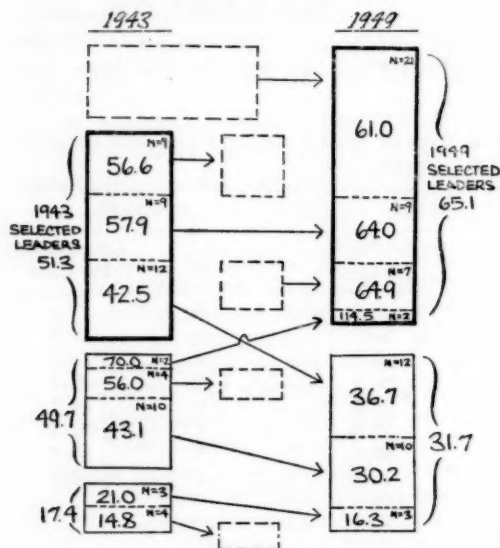
¹¹ Where possible, statistical tests were made both in terms of differences in means, by t-test, and of distributions, by chi-square. The mean age of the '43 SL was 52.5 years; that of the '49 SL, 48.9 years. Some college education was reported by 63 per cent of both the '43 SL and the '49 SL, compared to 14 per cent of the citizen sample. Of the '43 SL, 96 per cent were "business and professional," compared to 78 per cent of the '49 SL and 23 per cent of the '43 citizen sample. Of the '43 SL, 63 per cent reported incomes over 4000 dollars, compared to 5 per cent of the citizen sample. By 1949, of course, income figures were no longer comparable since 73 per cent of the '49 SL reported 5000 dollars or over, and income figures for 1949 for the general populace were not available. There were three women among the thirty '43 SL, and six women among the thirty-nine '49 SL. For detailed analysis and statistical

⁸ Into: "60 and over"; "24 to 59"; and "23 and under."

⁹ Chi-square value: 88.97; the Coefficient of Contingency is .483, a statistic which tends to materially understate the association in a 2 x 3 table.

If being chosen or not chosen as a selected leader is regarded as a rough but not unreasonable criterion of a given leader's position of influence in the community's power structure, then changes of such positions over time should be reflected by a good "indicator" of that structure. Does the SP score meet this test? Figure 2

FIGURE 2. MEAN SP SCORES OF LEADER GROUPS
(Sub-groups identified in fig. 1)



shows mean SP scores of sub-groups making up the various leader groups in 1943 and 1949.

Examination of the scores of sub-groups shows that:

- (1) The nine '43 SL who were also '49 SL had higher mean scores in 1943 (57.9) than the rest of the '43 SL (48.5);¹²
- (2) Of the twenty-one '43 SL who were interviewed again in 1949, the nine who were again selected had higher mean scores in 1949 (64.0) than those who were not (36.7);¹³
- (3) The two emergent leaders in 1943 who "moved up" to the selected group in 1949 had higher scores in 1943 (70.0 mean) than the other fourteen '43 EL (46.8 mean);

tests, see Donald W. Olmsted, "Relations Between Organizational Leadership and Civic Influence in the Social Structure of Red Wing," Social Science Research Center, University of Minnesota (publication pending).

¹² Not significantly different by t-test.

¹³ Significantly different at 5 per cent, by t-test.

- (4) Of the twelve '43 EL who were interviewed in 1949, the two who were selected in 1949 had very high scores (114.5 mean), while the ten who were not selected in 1949 dropped in mean score (30.2).

In sum, of the thirty-six individuals who were interviewed in both 1943 and 1949, the eleven "successful" leaders—those who maintained or attained a position in the '49 SL—had higher mean SP scores in 1943 than other members of the respective 1943 groups, and also increased their mean scores when scored again in 1949. On the other hand, the twenty-five "less successful" leaders—those who did not maintain or attain a position in the '49 SL—dropped in mean SP scores in 1949.¹⁴ The "successful" persons had a mean increase in SP scores over the six-year interval of 24 per cent, while the "less successful" had a mean decrease of 21 per cent.

In terms of a criterion of inclusion in selected leader groups at two points in time, there seems to be some concomitance between a given leader's shifts of position in the community's posited power or influence structure and changes in his SP score, although individual variations are great and a precise measure of the relationship does not seem feasible with the present data.

One of the first things that strikes the investigator viewing these data is the number and diversity of formally-organized voluntary associations to which the selected leaders belong. For example, the thirty-nine persons in the '49 SL reported membership in 147 different organizations,¹⁵ while the seventy-seven different leaders at both dates of study reported membership in a total of 187 different organizations.

¹⁴ The difference between the mean scores of the "successful" and "less successful" leaders is significant at 2 per cent for both 1943 and 1949, by t-test. Detailed analysis showed no relation between a leader's age in 1943 and whether his SP score went up or down over the six-year interval. Among these leaders, SP score seems to hold up at least until age 70. See Olmsted, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Some of which, like the county medical society and the A.M.A., are affiliated with one another.

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This impression can be broken down into several facets:

(1) The leaders collectively seem to have pretty well covered the field of organizations available, although information on the total number of different organizations existing in the community is not available.¹⁶ By type, the organizations reported by all leaders were classified as: occupational and professional, 54; civic, welfare, and service, 30; recreational, 20; fraternal, 17; labor, 15; religious, 13; cultural, 8; general business and commercial, 7; political, 6; veteran and military, 4; miscellaneous, 13. Although there is no generally-accepted classification system for voluntary associations, the Red Wing leaders seem to fall midway between the New York City business and professional people studied by Komarovsky and the small city middle-class males of Mather's study, in regard to types of organizations to which they belong.¹⁷

(2) The selected leaders indicate by their memberships a secular or urban specialization of interest. Forty-two different organizations were mentioned but once by the '43 SL, and ninety-seven different organizations were mentioned but once by the '49 SL. Most of these were professional or occupational in nature, and state or national in scope. That this specialization of interest, however, does not signify fragmentation of participation within the community is indicated by the following.

(3) The selected groups also show concentration of participation in a few organizations. At each date of study, there were eight organizations to which 20 per cent or more of the selected leaders belonged (see Table 2). In 1943, in seven of the eight most-belonged-to organizations, 20 per cent or more of the '43 SL were also committee members or officers in those organizations; this figure dropped to three of eight organizations in 1949 (Table 2). In the eight organizations most-belonged-to in

1943, there were a total of 81 memberships among the thirty selected leaders, or 34 per cent of the possible memberships; the corresponding figures for the '49 SL are 103 memberships or 33 per cent of possible memberships.

(4) Although the two selected leader groups were largely made up of different individuals (nine persons were in both groups), the list of organizations most-belonged-to was mainly the same in 1943 and 1949. In 1943, there were 14 organizations to which more than three (10 per cent) of the '43 SL belonged; 13 of these were among the 16 organizations to which more than four (10 per cent) of the '49 SL belonged. Furthermore, five organizations had 20 per cent or more of the selected leaders as members in both 1943 and 1949. In 1943, the average percentage of selected leaders who were members of these five organizations was 40; in 1949, the corresponding percentage was 38 (averages of respective percentages in Table 2). There is seen to be a degree of stability in the concentration of participation.

(5) The proportion of selected leaders who were members of a given organization, which might be regarded as an indication of an organization's status in the community, was fairly constant at both dates of study. For all organizations having two or more memberships reported among the selected leaders at either date, the correlation between number of selected-leader members in 1943 and 1949 was .74.¹⁸

(6) Over-all changes in participation between the two dates of study may perhaps best be indicated in terms of the types of organization in which the selected leaders were members, as in shown in Table 3. There appear to be appreciable increases in the occupational-professional and the cultural types, and relative decreases in the religious, fraternal, and labor types.¹⁹

¹⁸ N equals 49; probability of this correlation coming from a universe of zero correlation less than .01; if all organizations mentioned at either date were included, the correlation would be somewhat higher, but an element of spuriousness would be added.

¹⁹ As judged by relative contributions to a chi-square test run on the first two columns of Table 3. The two distributions are significantly different, P for the total being less than .01.

¹⁶ For some substantiation, compare F. D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, "Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota," Bulletin 401, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, February, 1949; pp. 34-58, especially Tables 3 and 4.

¹⁷ Cf. Komarovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 693; and Mather, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

The differences may be attributable to any or some combination of the following: errors related to the grossness or inadequacy of the measures, such as the typology of organizations; "random" fluctuations permissible within a flexible social structure; actual social trends in the community and its leadership structure; the inappropriateness of the inference that these data support the usefulness of the concept "social structure."

both dates. The SP scoring weights the latter more heavily. This relative dispersion at the latter date is seen also in the lower intensity of participation in certain "key" organizations, as detailed below (Table 4).

In order to indicate clearly the details of the interrelationships among the leaders' participation patterns, it is convenient to reduce the number of leaders and organizations to be considered. This is done by

TABLE 2. ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH HIGHEST PROPORTIONS OF SELECTED LEADERS BELONGED, WITH COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS OR OFFICES INDICATED

	Memberships				Committee or Office			
	'43 SL		'49 SL		'43 SL		'49 SL	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Organizations to which 20 per cent or more of selected leaders be- longed in <i>both</i> 1943 and 1949:								
Elks Club	16	53	20	51	11	37	6	15
Chamber of Commerce	12	40	22	56	11	37	18	46
Episcopal Church	12	40	9	23	7	23	3	8
Masonic Lodge	11	37	11	28	6	20	0	0
Kiwanis	9	30	14	36	7	23	12	31
Organizations to which 20 per cent or more of '43 SL belonged:								
YMCA	8	26	4	10	6	20	3	8
War Bond Organization	7	23	0	0	6	20	0	0
Lutheran Church	6	20	6	15	3	8	4	10
Organizations to which 20 per cent or more of '49 SL belonged:								
Community Chest	5	17	9	23	5	17	8	20
Izaak Walton	2	7	8	20	2	7	2	5
Country Club	0	0	10	26	0	0	3	8

The fact that there was no significant difference between mean SP of the two sets of selected leaders, but that there was a significant difference in the distribution of number of organization memberships per leader (more memberships in 1949),²⁰ needs explanation. There was a greater dispersion of participation at the latter date. Although the average number of memberships among the selected leaders rose from 5.3 to 8.1, the average number of committee or office posts claimed was 3.8 at

²⁰ When the distributions for each date were trichotomized, the hypothesis of no difference was rejected (P less than .02).

means of three heuristic definitions, the labels for which are not meant to be connotative at this time:

- (1) A "key organization" is an organization to which 20 per cent or more of the selected leaders of a given date belong;
- (2) A "key position" is a committee membership or an office held in a key organization;
- (3) A "key leader" is a selected leader who holds two or more key positions at a given date.

Under these definitions, there were eight key organizations at each date (listed in

Type
Civic, Servi
Religious
Recreation
Fraternal
General Bu
Occupation
Labor
Cultural
All Other

Total

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TABLE 4.

SP Scores

Mean
Per Cent

Memberships

Number

Number

Number

Per Cent

Positions (C

Number

Number

Number

Per Cent

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS OF SELECTED LEADERS, BY TYPE OF ORGANIZATION

Type	Total Number of Memberships		Number of Memberships per Person		Per Cent of Memberships	
	1943	1949	1943	1949	1943	1949
Civic, Service, Welfare	39	75	1.3	1.9	24.4	23.7
Religious	32	29	1.1	.8	20.0	9.1
Recreational	25	61	.8	1.6	15.6	19.2
Fraternal	19	22	.6	.6	11.9	6.9
General Business, Commercial	13	32	.4	.8	8.1	10.1
Occupational, Professional	12	50	.4	1.3	7.5	15.8
Labor	12	11	.4	.3	7.5	3.5
Cultural	0	12		.3		3.8
All Other	8	25	.3	.6	5.0	7.9
Total	160	317	5.3	8.1	100.0	100.0

Table 2); there were 58 key positions held by selected leaders in 1943, and 52 in 1949; there were 16 key leaders in 1943, and 13 in 1949. The 1943 *key* leaders together held 52 key positions (90 per cent of the total) and the 1949 *key* leaders held 38 key positions (73 per cent of the total). Unfortunately, the number of key positions held by persons who were not selected leaders is not known, nor is it known whether any persons who were not selected leaders held two or more such positions.

A summary of the mean SP scores, organizational memberships, and organizational positions of key leaders and other selected leaders for each date of study is given in Table 4. The degree of concentration of participation by certain (key) leaders at either date seems to be disclosed

about equally well whether one uses SP means, or memberships, or positions.

The key positions held by key leaders in key organizations are indicated in Table 5. In general, the rank of a key organization in terms of the number of selected leaders who are members of it is about the same as that organization's rank in terms of the number of key leaders holding key positions in it, with the major exception of the Masons in 1949.²¹ As Table 5 shows, at each date there was a high degree of interlocking of "directorates," but the fact that the data of Table 5 could not be shown to scale in the Guttman sense may

²¹ The intriguing question arises as to whether one could thus predict which organizations were about to decline in the community's prestige structure, and which ones were on the upgrade.

TABLE 4. SP SCORES, AND ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND POSITIONS, OF 1943 AND 1949 LEADERS

	1943			1949		
	Key Leaders (N=16)	Other SL (N=14)	All SL (N=30)	Key Leaders (N=13)	Other SL (N=26)	All SL (N=39)
SP Scores						
Mean	66.4	34.1	51.3	84.6	55.3	65.1
Per Cent in Key Organizations	59.7	29.1	50.2	45.5	25.0	33.9
Memberships						
Number	104	56	160	124	193	317
Number per person	6.5	4.0	5.3	9.5	7.4	8.1
Number in Key Organizations	61	20	81	50	53	103
Per Cent in Key Organizations	58.6	35.7	50.6	40.3	27.5	32.5
Positions (Committee and Office)						
Number	86	29	115	73	75	148
Number per person	5.4	2.1	3.8	5.6	2.9	3.8
Number in Key Organizations	52	6	58	38	14	52
Per Cent in Key Organizations	60.5	20.7	50.4	52.1	18.7	35.1

indicate that the community's influence structure is not a simple uni-dimensional hierarchy.

Does Table 5 reflect the existence of a system of social relationships? The essential characteristics of a *closed* system, as the term might be reasonably defined for sociological usage, would seem to include: (1) closure, wherein each element of the system is linked directly to each other element; (2) autonomy, wherein the major factors affecting changes are included within the system; and (3) internal pre-

position-linkages. In 1949, the 13 key leaders fulfilled 26 of the member-linkages (all except community chest—Izaak Walton and Episcopal-Izaak Walton) and 18 of the position-linkages. Furthermore, in regard to multiple member-linkages of 1943 key leaders, 19 of the 27 were triple (or greater) linkages—i.e., fulfilled by three or more different leaders. The corresponding figure for 1949 was 15.

The degree of approach to closure is probably as close as one can expect with sociological materials. Certain of the or-

TABLE 5. KEY POSITIONS OF KEY LEADERS, 1943 AND 1949 *

Leader Number	1943 Key Organizations **								Leader Number	1949 Key Organizations **							
	CC	El	K	Y	W	M	Ep	L		CC	K	Ch	El	Ep	Cy	I	M
531		X		X	x	X	X		507	x	x		x		x	x	
522	X	x	x			x	x		619	X	X	X	x	X			
514	x	x		x			x		607	x	x		x				
517	X	x	X		X				605	x	x			X			
518	x	x		X	x				621	X			x			X	
507		x	x		X	x			530	X	x	X					
501	x			X		x		x	609	X	X	X					
524	x			x	X			x	522	x			x	X			
523	X	X	x						614			X			x		
511		X				x	x		618		X	X					
513		x	x						602	x	x						
505		X		X					524	X	x						
504	X						x		606	x	x						
502	X		X														
530	X		x														
516	X				X												
Total	11	10	7	6	6	5	5	2	Total	11	10	5	5	3	2	2	0

* Legend: x=Committee Member; X=Officer (May also be committee member).

** Organization Abbreviations: CC—Chamber of Commerce; El—Elks Club; K—Kiwanis; Y—YMCA; W—War Bond Organization; Ep—Episcopal Church; L—Lutheran Church; Ch—Community Chest; Cy—Red Wing Country Club; I—Izaak Walton League; M—Masonic Lodge.

dictability, wherein a change at any point brings about predictable changes at specifiable other points in the system.

The available data seem inadequate to form the basis for testing the second and third characteristics mentioned above but are useful in regard to closure. Let us say that two key organizations are member-linked if any key leader is a member of both of them, and are position-linked if any key leader holds a committee membership or an office in both of them. Given eight organizations, there are 28 member-linkages and 28 position-linkages possible. In 1943, the 16 key leaders fulfilled 27 of the member-linkages (all except, of course, Episcopal-Lutheran) and 24 of the

organizations show stability of position within the system over a six-year span regardless of changes of personnel filling key positions. These data suggest that the participation patterns of the key leaders may constitute a fairly autonomous subsystem within the community's inferred leadership structure.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In a stable Minnesota city of 10,000 population:

- (1) The magnitude of a person's SP score was shown to be associated with the likelihood of his being regarded as a community leader.
- (2) On the basis of SP data gathered at two

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times, six years apart, there was shown to be a relationship between a leader's changes in SP score and whether or not he maintained or attained the status of "selected leader."

- (3) Similarities were found between the participation patterns and other social characteristics of selected leader groups at the two times, with largely different individuals involved; the leader groups were furthermore shown to differ in SP score and other characteristics from the general populace.
- (4) The foregoing, plus the recurrence of certain organizations as heavily-participated-in at both dates, and a fairly high correlation between the number of selected leaders belonging to a given organization at each date, suggest the usefulness of the concepts of "social structure" and "influence structure" in explaining the behavior.
- (5) There appeared to be greater turnover of individuals who were recognized community leaders than there were changes in participation patterns, although the two are not fully comparable. The leadership structure of a war year (1943) was similar to that of an inter-war year (1949).
- (6) On the basis of participation patterns, it seemed possible to pick out certain key leaders and key organizations for more detailed analysis, by which it was

shown that relationships found for the selected leaders were intensified among the key leaders, and that a close approach to closure of specified relationships existed, suggesting the applicability of the term "system."

The data of this study suggest, but do not demonstrate, that analysis of participation patterns can provide information about "civic influence," although the criterion used herein—being included in the selected leaders—is admittedly crude.²² The data further indicate that the formal participation of leaders in certain organizations may indicate how the network of *informal* contact and influence in a community like this operates. For example, the membership linkages and position linkages pointed out above may be a reflection of these informal contacts.

Although the twin hypotheses cannot be said to have been fully tested, it seems reasonable to conclude that the SP information can be of distinct value in the objective determination of the leadership structure of the small city.

²² Research in this area will probably be obstructed until a usable criterion is developed. As things now stand, intimate familiarity with a particular community and its leadership seems to be necessary to get a view of the influence structure.

THE PRESTIGE SYSTEM OF AN AIR BASE: SQUADRON RANKINGS AND MORALE *

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ONE objective of a contract research project for the U. S. Air Force¹ was to describe and analyze the stratification process and resultant hierarchies on Strategic Air Command, or bomber, bases, in terms of the differential allocation of

authority, influence, prestige, and esteem. This paper deals with the implications of data gathered to test six hypotheses about the prestige hierarchy of associations—in this case squadrons—within the social system of a Strategic Air Command base: (1) Squadrons ranked according to prestige will cluster in groups on the basis of similarity of activity; (2) These activity groupings of squadrons will be ranked on the basis of the importance of their contribution to the social system; (3) Personnel in each squadron will rank their own squadron higher than all other personnel rank it; (4) Working conditions in a squadron will

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1953.

¹ For financing this study, and for granting permission to publish it, the writer is grateful to the Air Force Base Project, sponsored by the Human Resources Research Institute, U. S. Air Force, and executed by the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Project Directors: Gordon W. Blackwell and Nicholas J. Demerath. AF Project No. 505-037-0001.

be more important as a prestige determinant than the supposed evaluation of the squadron by other persons; (5) A positive relationship will exist between the prestige of a squadron and the morale of its members; and (6) A positive relationship will exist between morale and certain personal background characteristics of airmen.

A questionnaire was administered to a 25 per cent sample of airmen stratified by squadron and enlisted grade at two bases, asking them to select the three best and

operations, command, support, and service—were ranked in the hypothesized order, according to their distance from the primary mission of the base, that is, how directly they were believed to contribute to the actual dropping of bombs.

The third hypothesis was also accepted. In each squadron sample, the respondents ranked the squadron in which they worked higher than all other respondents ranked that squadron. (A 25 per cent sample stratified by enlisted grade was taken from

TABLE 1. PRESTIGE RANKING¹ OF ALL SQUADRONS BY ALL RESPONDENTS IN ALL SQUADRONS AT BOTH AIR FORCE BASES

Squadron	Number of Respondents Choosing that Squadron		Score (number of times rated best minus number of times rated worst)	Rank	Primary Activity of the Squadron
	One of the three best	One of the three worst			
Total ²	6612	6612			
Bomb	1096	97	999	1	Operations
Wing Headquarters	821	124	697	2	Command
Organizational Maintenance Armament and	685	95	590	3	Support
Electronics Maintenance	581	68	513	4	Support
Operations	535	63	472	5	Support
Supply	649	399	250	6	Support
Field Maintenance	437	188	249	7	Support
Base Headquarters	459	222	237	8	Service
Motor Vehicle	157	288	-131	9	Service
Installations	243	388	-145	10	Service
Medical	200	696	-496	11	Service
Air Police	175	1842	-1667	12	Service
Food Service	148	1904	-1756	13	Service
Discrepancies	159	137			

¹ Ranking is obtained by subtracting the number of times a squadron was chosen as one of the three worst units to which to be assigned from the number of times it was chosen as one of the three best, so that the lowest minus score is the lowest ranking and the highest plus score is the highest ranking.

² Total includes 267 "best" and 101 "worst" choices for Air Refueling, which is deleted because no Air Refueling Squadron was present at the two bases where field work was accomplished.

three worst squadrons. Each squadron received a score computed by subtracting the number of times which it was rated worst from the number of times which it was rated best. The scores were arranged in descending order to show the hierarchy of prestige of associations. On the basis of these data, which are presented in Table 1, the first two hypotheses were accepted. When the airmen ranked the squadrons according to prestige, they grouped them on the basis of similarity of activity: all maintenance squadrons ranked consecutively; all service squadrons ranked consecutively. The four postulated groupings—

30 squadrons—15 squadrons at each of the two bases. There were 13 squadron types: each base had one squadron of each type, and in the bomb squadron type, each base had two additional squadrons. Data from the two bases summarized here have been combined by squadron type, since no significant differences existed between bases within squadron types.) In 26 of the 30 squadrons, airmen ranked their own squadron type among the top three on the base. Only in Air Police and Food Service—the lowest ranking squadrons in base-wide prestige (see Table 1)—did airmen not rank the unit in which they worked among

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TABLE 2
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Base Hea
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the top three. Even the respondents in these two extremely low prestige squadrons ranked their own units more than one full position higher than airmen in other units ranked them, as can be seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF PRESTIGE RANKING OF EACH TYPE OF SQUADRON BY ITS OWN PERSONNEL WITH PRESTIGE RANKING OF EACH TYPE OF SQUADRON BY ALL RESPONDENTS AT BOTH AIR FORCE BASES

Squadron	Rank According to	
	Its Own Personnel	All Respondents
Bomb	1	1
Wing Headquarters	1	2
Organizational Maintenance	2.5	3
Armament and		
Electronics Maintenance	1	4
Operations	1	5
Supply	2.5	6
Field Maintenance	1	7
Base Headquarters	1.5	8
Motor Vehicle	1	9
Installations	2	10
Medical	1	11
Air Police	10.5	12
Food Service	11.5	13

The tendency shown in Table 2 to rate high the prestige of one's own unit might have affected the base-wide rankings. It seemed possible, once the tendency to rank one's own squadron higher than it was ranked by others had been demonstrated, that this in-group bias would militate in favor of the larger squadrons. The squadrons ranged in size from about 100 to over 600 men, and the larger squadrons might have more respondents voting in favor of them when the scores from which prestige rankings were inferred were computed. Therefore another computation was made. A table like Table 1 was constructed with the rankings given each squadron by its own personnel deleted, and scores were computed for each squadron according to how many times it was chosen as "one of the three best" or "one of the three worst" by respondents from all other squadrons. Not one squadron ranking was altered by this process, so the conclusions regarding the first two hypotheses remained unchanged.

The fourth hypothesis was based on the assumption that it would be possible to isolate the factors which were most impor-

tant in determining the hierarchy of prestige by comparing the general prestige rankings shown in Table 1 with responses to questions dealing with specific working conditions and opinions. If it was assumed that the rankings presented in Table 1 which all airmen had assigned to the squadrons constituted a valid picture of the hierarchy of prestige, it seemed reasonable to assume that a comparison of these rankings with the rankings of the squadrons on single factors would indicate which of those factors were likely to be the most important partial determinants of the prestige hierarchy. To isolate such determinants, the questionnaire asked the respondents to rank examples of the four activity group types of squadrons on 28 factors. These 28 questions were based on data gathered during a year of qualitative research on several bases, and incorporated ideas of possible components of unit prestige which had been gathered by the writer and several colleagues in their observation and interviewing. The factors on which the squadrons were ranked fell into two classifications: the desirability of working conditions, and the supposed evaluation of the unit by other persons. For example, the airmen were asked to rank the squadrons on the basis of such working conditions as the likelihood of promotions, of receiving assignment to service schools, of learning a job skill which would be useful in civilian life, of getting all the furlough time one had earned, the quality of officers in the unit, and so on. Questions measuring the supposed evaluation of the squadron by other persons were phrased as follows: "Which of these squadrons do you think the top brass considers most important?" or "Suppose you wanted to impress the average airman—which of these squadrons would you tell him that you were assigned to?"

It was hypothesized that the working conditions, being more tangible factors than the supposed evaluation of a unit by other persons, would carry more weight in the airmen's judgment of the relative prestige of squadrons. However, when the ranking of squadrons on working conditions items was compared with the prestige rankings of the squadrons derived in Table 1, the coefficients of rank correlation were not sig-

nificantly different from zero. But when the rankings of squadrons on items dealing with the supposed evaluation of the unit by other persons were compared with the prestige rankings of the squadrons derived in Table 1, coefficients of rank correlation of 1.0 obtained.² The hypothesis, therefore, was rejected: the supposed evaluation of a squadron by other persons seemed to be a more important factor in determining the prestige of the squadron than the desirability of its working conditions.

An index was constructed to summarize the answers to the seven morale items in the questionnaire, which were modifications of questions which had been used by the Survey Research Center in some of its unpublished industrial research. Each question had a positive, neutral, and negative answer. Preliminary tabulations indicated that both the neutral and negative choices had negative connotations to the airmen, and that the data were not altered by making the morale items dichotomous. Eight morale scores were posited: a score of 8 meant that the respondent had checked the favorable, or high morale, response to all seven questions; a score of 7 indicated that he had checked the positive answer to six of the items and the negative response on one of them; a score of one meant that he had responded unfavorably to all seven items. The number of airmen making each of the eight possible morale scores was tabulated by squadron. The

frequency of respondents in each score category was then multiplied by the category number, using the score as a weight, and the sum of these products was divided by the number of men in the squadron. The dividend was a squadron morale score, comparable from squadron to squadron.

These morale scores, and the ranking of the squadrons according to them, are shown in Table 3, which compares the ranking of the squadrons according to morale with their ranking according to base-wide prestige and among their own personnel. However, no relationship, either positive or negative, between the prestige of a squadron and morale in that squadron is shown to exist. The coefficient of rank correlation between the prestige rankings of squadrons and their ranking on the morale index is .10. Even the correlation between morale and the squadron's ranking by its own members is only .53. This conclusion, the implications of which will be discussed further below, was so anomalous that several further computations were made in an attempt to explain it. It seemed likely that other stronger relationships were obscuring a relationship between morale and prestige, but even with the enlisted grade of the respondents held constant, the hypothesis that an association existed between these variables was rejected.

There was, however, a statistically significant positive relationship between morale and several personal background characteristics: enlisted grade, length of time the respondent had been in the Air Force, membership in the regular Air Force, and the intention to reenlist, so the final hypothesis was accepted.

This research confirms, through the analysis of quantitative data, a proposition of system theory which has usually rested upon qualitative materials: that the prestige of a position throughout the social system is affected by the prestige of the particular part of the system to which the position is attached.³

This study offers empirical support for

² When one cites several coefficients of correlation—even rank correlation—of +1.0, a word of explanation seems in order. The reader must remember that, on these 28 questions, respondents were ranking examples of the activity group types of squadrons. Only four activity group types existed. The order in which these four were ranked on a working conditions factor or a supposed opinion of others was compared with the order in which they were ranked on general prestige (Table 1): operations, command, support, service. Only 24 permutations exist for the ranking of four items. The possibility of getting perfect agreement or perfect disagreement between two sets of four rankings is 1/24. Therefore, only a coefficient of rank correlation of +1.0 or -1.0 is significantly different from zero at the .05 level. Some of the coefficients of rank correlation between the ranking of working conditions items and general prestige rankings mentioned above as not significantly different from zero were +.80.

³ Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (May, 1940).

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TABLE 3.
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Squadron
Medical
Wing Headquarters
Base Headquarters
Supply
Motor Vehicle
Armament
Electronics
Operations
Bomb
Food Service
Field Maintenance
Installation
Air Police
Organization

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Barnard's theory of scalar status systems,⁴ and suggests elaboration of the theory at one point. Barnard says that scalar status is determined by (1) the relationship of superiority or subordination in a chain of command or formal authority and (2) jurisdiction. The system of status, he says, arises from differences in the abilities of individuals, in the difficulties of the various kinds of work, and in the importance of various kinds of work. This seems to be

tems. In other words, the relative prestige of the several associations tends to be determined, as Barnard says, by jurisdiction, by superiority-subordination relationships.

This research emphasizes a conceptual need in the interpretation and application of Barnard's scalar status theory. When one thinks in its terms, the concept of definition of the situation must be borne in mind. Whose idea of the difficulty of the work determines the prestige of the job?

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF MORALE IN EACH TYPE OF SQUADRON WITH PRESTIGE RANKING OF EACH TYPE OF SQUADRON BY ITS OWN PERSONNEL AND BY ALL RESPONDENTS AT BOTH AIR FORCE BASES

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(3A) ¹	(4)
			Rank According to		
Squadron	Score Computed from Morale Index	Morale Index	Its Own Personnel		All Re- spondents
Medical	4.23	1	1	(4)	11
Wing Headquarters	4.09	2	1	(4)	2
Base Headquarters	4.02	3	1.5	(8)	8
Supply	3.97	4	2.5	(10.5)	6
Motor Vehicle	3.52	5	1	(4)	9
Armament and Electronics Maintenance	3.50	6	1	(4)	4
Operations	3.48	7	1	(4)	5
Bomb	3.44	8	1	(4)	1
Food Service	3.41	9	11.5	(13)	13
Field Maintenance	3.35	10	1	(4)	7
Installations	3.30	11	2	(9)	10
Air Police	3.24	12	10.5	(12)	12
Organizational Maintenance	3.09	13	2.5	(10.5)	3

Coefficient of rank correlation between columns 2 and 4=.10.

Coefficient of rank correlation between columns 2 and 3A=.53.

¹ Column 3A is column 3 corrected for the purpose of using it in computing a coefficient of rank correlation. Each number in column 3 is a rank assigned a squadron by the men in that squadron; the numbers in column 3A are a result of ranking the numbers in column 3.

true on the Strategic Air Command bases where the field work was accomplished. The ability of the individuals, the difficulty of the work, and importance of the work generally run on a continuum of distance of the subsystem from the primary mission: operations to command to support to service. It is also true generally that the support subsystem is "working for" the operations subsystem, and that the service subsystem's activities are determined by the requirements of the other three subsys-

Whose evaluation of its importance is being considered? The writer approached this research with an industrial sociologist's definition of what was important, and therefore with the expectation, later proved incorrect, that command associations would rank above operations associations in the prestige hierarchy, an idea which overlooked the fact that the typical airman defines flying as more important to the Air Force mission than decision-making.

Future research might well concern itself with testing the theory that the findings of this study regarding the predictability of associational prestige are generalizable to other systems. If associations in the Air

⁴ Chester I. Barnard, "The Functions of Status Systems," in Robert K. Merton *et al.* (editors), *Reader in Bureaucracy*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952, pp. 242-254.

Force cluster and are ranked on the basis of their distance from the primary mission, is this true in industrial, religious, educational, and political bureaucracies? Arm-chair analysis would indicate a tendency for it to be true: in a Protestant church, the average layman (analogous to our airman in the Air Force) would define prestige as diminishing from the clergy (or operations association) through the elders or deacons (the command association) and organist, choir, clerical help, and auxiliaries, such as the Ladies Aid (the support association) to the janitors (the service association); in industry, taking railroading as an example, the prestige hierarchy runs from the operations personnel—engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen, to the command group—tower operators and signalmen, to the support people, such as station agents, to the service personnel—repair and track maintenance section gangs; in a university, the gradient is from teaching and research faculty through administrators to laboratory technicians, stenographers, and file clerks to grounds maintenance and janitorial personnel. Any of the above illustrations, of course, would probably vary depending upon the social category chosen for interviewing or questionnairing, or depending upon the stated boundaries of the social system under consideration. We might, for example, expect the university's prestige hierarchy to show some differences if all the respondents in our research were from the administration building rather than from the faculty, even as a sample of headquarters officers in this study of Air Bases might have given replies different from those of the average airman.

The idea of the existence of a positive relationship between the prestige of a work group and the morale of the group's members, advanced by Stouffer,⁵ and by Roethlisberger and Dickson,⁶ is question-

⁵ Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Volume II, "The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath," Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 339-348.

⁶ F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. 373-376.

able, according to these data. The lack of any demonstrated relationship between morale and prestige suggests that morale may be better understood in terms of reference group theory. An interesting hypothesis for future research would be that the morale level is not significantly different among squadrons having varying prestige and activity patterns because the major factors determining morale differ among the squadrons. Suppose, for example, that the intelligence and educational levels of airmen vary considerably between bomb and food service squadrons. (This is not too rash an assumption.) Food service personnel may score 3.4 on a morale index because they are dissatisfied with their working conditions: they do not like the hours, the work is boring, and so on. Bomb squadron people, despite the fact that they are satisfied with their working conditions, may score 3.4 on the index because they are displeased with the way training requirements are administered by higher headquarters and feel that the taxpayers' money is being wasted. The relatively higher mentality of the bomb squadron personnel might result in their having low morale because of conditions which food service people, having a lower mentality, do not deem important. The different social class backgrounds indicated by the different levels of intelligence and education probably mean that the primary social values vary in the two associations, that the men have different systems of reference. Morale, by definition, has several dimensions. If the personal satisfactions dimension is most important to a man, his work associates may be his primary reference group. If the goal of the organization is the most important dimension of another airman's morale, his major reference system may be taxpayers who are not getting the best possible national defense for their money. The bomb squadron people may be more concerned over national policy than over minor personal inconveniences, while the food service people find the distastefulness of dishwashing more important as a morale determinant than the level of efficiency reached in planning and serving meals. In other words, different men may make the

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same score on a morale index for different reasons.

Reference group theory may also be brought to bear in considering the strength of in-group identification as a factor in an airman's prestige ranking of the squadron to which he is assigned. Centers⁷ found that people who could be objectively classified as upper class or lower class in American society thought of themselves as middle class or working class, apparently because the norms of American society make either of the first two labels undesirable. The same kind of responses were found in this study when airmen were asked to check the squadrons which were generally the best—a tendency exists for people to want to think of themselves as belonging to the group which others consider the most desirable. In every squad-

ron, men were found to rank their own unit higher than others ranked it, a case of the membership-group as a reference group. In all but the service associations, men rated squadrons in their activity group higher than others rated them—a case of mutually sustaining reference groups. And finally, the men in the squadrons with the lowest base-wide prestige rankings—Food Service and Air Police—offer an illustration of what Merton and Kitt call a "positive orientation to non-membership reference groups."⁸ Men from these two low prestige associations showed a stronger tendency than other respondents to identify with the unit having the highest base-wide prestige—the bomb squadron.

⁷ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.

⁸ Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (editors), *Continuities in Social Research*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950, p. 87.

THE DURATION OF MARRIAGE

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DURATION IN DIVORCE

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM. It is desirable to know not only what proportion of marriages are terminating in divorce, but also how long these marriages have lasted (the marriage "duration"). In effect, temporal changes in the average duration of marriage may signify increases or decreases in the number of currently divorced persons, even though the percentage of marriages ultimately ending in divorce were to remain constant. Also, since divorce is most common in the early years of married life, the percentage of divorces with and without children hinges, in good part, on the duration of those marriages.¹ Indeed, there are few aspects of divorce statistics which do not relate to the duration of marriage, and because of

the obvious importance of the subject it is understandable that published duration data, or references to the data, are routinely incorporated in family texts.

Published Data on Duration. Relatively complete national figures are available for the periods 1867–1886 and 1887–1906, and for the years 1922 through 1932.² The 1948, 1949, and 1950 Divorce Reports issued by the National Office of Vital Statistics include duration figures for a little over one-quarter of the states.³ Gathering county and state figures from a wider geographical area, Jacobson compiled dura-

² Bureau of the Census, *Marriage and Divorce Reports* for years indicated. The first Federal Report (1867–1886 period) was issued by the United States Commissioner of Labor.

³ National Office of Vital Statistics, "Divorce and Annulment Statistics: Specified States, 1948," Vol. 35, No. 12, August 7, 1950; "1949," Vol. 36, No. 7, August 3, 1951; "1950," Vol. 37, No. 4, December 9, 1952.

¹ See, for example, Paul H. Jacobson, "Differentials in Divorce by Duration of Marriage and Size of Family," *American Sociological Review* (April, 1950), pp. 239–244.

tion data for 23 per cent of the total divorces and annulments granted in 1948.⁴

The presentation of duration data in official reports (National and State) customarily takes the form shown in Table 1,

TABLE 1. DIVORCES CLASSIFIED BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE, UNITED STATES, 1932
(N=159,710)*

Duration by Years	Number of Divorces	Per Cent of Divorces	Cumulative Per Cent
Under 1	6,011	3.9	3.9
1	10,858	7.0	10.9
2	12,843	8.3	19.2
3	13,150	8.5	27.7
4	12,287	8.0	35.7
5	11,151	7.2	42.9
6	10,049	6.5	49.4
7	8,717	5.6	55.0
8	7,993	5.2	60.2
9	7,005	4.5	64.7
10 to 14	25,714	16.6	81.3
15 to 19	13,075	8.5	89.8
20 to 24	7,879	5.1	94.9
25 to 29	4,523	2.9	97.8
30 and Over	3,260	2.1	99.9

* Including 5,195 cases in which duration was not reported.

and it is data of this type that are utilized in most family texts. The year 1932 has been selected because it was the last year for which national figures were available.⁵

From these figures (Table 1) it can be seen that after the third year of marriage the "divorce percentage" diminishes, the generalized interpretation usually being that family instability is greatest in the early years of marriage.

Purpose of the Present Paper. It is the writer's contention that while this interpretation is doubtless true, it is nevertheless an oversimplification. The duration which ends in divorce is not a simple statistic, and in fact a reasonably accurate computation of the true duration is quite difficult in the light of currently available data. While most of the pitfalls have been recognized by writers in the "statistical school" (Cahen, Monahan, Jacobson and others), the majority of sociologists writ-

ing in the family field have ignored the limitations inherent in duration data as they now appear. The purpose of this paper is to enumerate the more important variables involved, illustrating, wherever possible, with material drawn from the Philadelphia divorce study.⁶ In addition, some data will be presented dealing with the duration of marriages ending in desertion.

Considerations. (1) Perhaps the first consideration involved in the computation or interpretation of duration data is the yearly fluctuation in the number of marriages. In the issuance of their former Marriage and Divorce Reports the Census Bureau⁷ was quite explicit in this respect, the following statement appearing in many of their annual bulletins: "It should be remembered also that, in general, the actual number of marriages performed has been increasing each year with the increase of population, and thus, independently of the action of death and divorce, on any given date the number of marriages of shorter duration would exceed the number of longer duration. The constant increase in the number of marriages . . . exaggerates the apparent probability of divorce in the early years of married life and understates the probability in later years."⁸ While the yearly number of marriages in the United States has not always increased, it is true, nevertheless, that the duration of marriages ending in divorce depends considerably on

⁶ For a detailed account of the methodology and sampling procedure used in gathering the Philadelphia data, see William M. Kephart and Thomas P. Monahan, "Desertion and Divorce in Philadelphia," *American Sociological Review* (December, 1952), pp. 722-723.

⁷ The collection and publication of national marriage and divorce statistics was, from 1887 until 1946, a function of the Census Bureau. In the latter year the Vital Statistics Division was transferred to the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency (now the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) with the new title, "National Office of Vital Statistics." For a history of the development and discontinuities of national marriage and divorce reporting, see Samuel C. Newman, "The Development and Status of Vital Statistics on Marriage and Divorce," *American Sociological Review* (June, 1950), pp. 426-429.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, (1930), p. 34.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, (1932) Table 1 adapted from figures, p. 5.

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the number of marriages performed in a given period.

In 1932 Cahen suggested the corrective technique of dividing the number of divorces in each yearly duration interval by the number of marriages in the base year; i.e., the year in which those (divorced) marriages were contracted.⁹ While Monahan¹⁰ and Jacobson¹¹ have utilized this technique with national data, almost all of our state and national divorce reports dealing with duration material are presenting data without reference to the base year of marriage.

(2) A second factor to be considered in connection with the duration of marriage is the death rate. Marriages are terminated by death as well as by divorce, and as the duration of marriage increases the death factor becomes increasingly significant. The diminution in the percentage of divorces as marriage duration lengthens is thus partly illusory; that is, if divorces were *equally prevalent* for all yearly periods of married life, each successive year would still show a decline with respect to the previous year because of the death factor. This residual bias was also recognized in the former Federal Marriage and Divorce Reports, and death-corrections have been applied to national data by the aforementioned writers. Again, however, the bulk of our currently-reported duration data is being reported in the crude form shown in Table 1.

It should be pointed out that the computation of duration-specific rates as outlined in points (1) and (2) above can be effected most accurately under a federally centralized system of marriage and divorce reporting, since at the state or county level migratory marriages and divorces complicate the problem. At the county level, furthermore, the researcher is handicapped by the relatively small number of yearly divorces. Referral of these divorces back

to the year in which the marriages were contracted results in a thinly distributed spread. For these reasons duration-specific rates for the Philadelphia data were not attempted. On the other hand, county divorce data may provide for certain statistical refinements which are currently unobtainable at the state or national levels, as will be shown in the following sections.

(3) Another consideration involved in the interpretation of the duration of marriage has to do with the legal definition of "duration" as compared to the actual point of termination. As it is now used, the term "duration of marriages which end in divorce" refers to the elapsed time between marriage and the final divorce decree. The factor that is too often ignored is the length of time the spouses have been *separated* prior to the legal divorce. That the extent of this time lag may be significant can be seen from an examination of the various state divorce laws, some of which require three or even five years continuous absence before the remaining spouse can sue for divorce on the ground of desertion. Desertion, incidentally, is one of the two most common grounds for divorce.

From the material published in one of the earliest Census reports on marriage and divorce, it was possible to compute medians for the duration of marriage by both separation and divorce dates.¹² For the period 1887-1906 the median duration of marriages ending in divorce for the United States was 8.1 years when the termination date is that of the final decree; however, when the date of separation is used as the terminal point the median was 4.7 years, a difference of 3.4 years. Unfortunately, national comparisons of the duration of marriage by separation and divorce dates are not possible for any year or period after 1906. Subsequent Census reports and the reports issued by the National Office of Vital Statistics which have included data on duration of marriages have based ter-

⁹ Alfred Cahen, *Statistical Analysis of American Divorce*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 116-121.

¹⁰ Thomas P. Monahan, "The Changing Probability of Divorce," *American Sociological Review* (August, 1940), pp. 536-545.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

¹² *Op. cit.* (1887-1906), pp. 40, 44. See also Young and Dedrick, "Variations in the Duration of Marriages Which End in Divorce, With Special Reference to the State of Wisconsin," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 27 (1932), pp. 160-167.

minal dates solely on the effective date of the divorce decree.

In our own study it was possible to collect duration material using both the date of separation and date of divorce. This comparison is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. DURATION OF MARRIAGE BY SEPARATION DATES AND DIVORCE DATES: PHILADELPHIA COUNTY SAMPLE, 1937-50
(N=1,434)

Duration by Years	Separation *		Divorce	
	Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative Per Cent	Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative Per Cent
-1	14.6	14.6	0.9	0.9
1	11.3	25.9	4.1	5.0
2	8.6	34.5	6.1	11.1
3	8.3	42.8	5.5	16.6
4	6.9	49.7	6.1	22.7
5	6.2	55.9	5.8	28.5
6	6.0	61.9	5.1	33.6
7	4.9	66.8	5.5	39.1
8	3.8	70.6	5.7	44.8
9	3.9	74.5	6.5	51.3
10	2.7	77.2	3.4	54.7
11	2.8	80.0	4.3	59.0
12	2.4	82.4	3.1	62.1
13	1.6	84.0	2.9	65.0
14	2.5	86.5	3.1	68.1
15-19	7.9	94.4	13.4	81.5
20-24	3.4	97.8	8.9	90.4
25-29	1.2	99.0	6.3	96.7
30 and Up	1.0	100.0	3.3	100.0
Medians:	5.1 years		9.7 years	

* Excluding 13 cases in which separation date was not reported.

Our data suggest that the recorded time period between marriage and divorce is, in good part, a legal fiction, and as such it is misleading with respect to the general picture of marital termination. For the 1,434 cases in our sample there was a difference in medians of 4.6 years between the legal duration of marriage and the actual duration. More than 40 per cent of the couples in our sample had separated within the first three years of married life! Within the same period divorces had been granted to but 16 per cent of the couples.

It is apparent, also, that not only is there a significant difference between the median duration of marriage based on separation dates and divorce dates respectively, but that the comparative differences in the

temporal distribution of cases are greatest in the period immediately following marriage. The peak year for separations lies within the *first* year of marriage, and with each succeeding year the percentage decreases. Using the divorce date the peak period lies within the second and fourth year, with a subsequent yearly decline. One of the reasons for the time lag—but certainly not the only reason—is that it takes time for the legal machinery to operate, including filing the libel, attending the hearing, and the rest. For the Philadelphia divorce sample, the median length of time elapsing between the filing of the original libel and the date of the final decree was 6.8 months. In any case, when separation data are examined, the implication is strong that for marriages which end in divorce, the first year has the most important “causal” connotation, with a subsequent yearly decline.

(4) Another variable to be considered in the interpretation of marriage duration is the remarriage factor. Since remarriages generally involve parties one or both of whom are older than those marrying for the first time, these marriages would be expected to have a shorter marriage duration than first marriages because of the death factor. Available Census material indicates that almost 20 per cent of all marriages in the United States involve a remarriage for one or both spouses,¹³ so that the inclusion of remarriages in the computation data introduces a further biasing factor. The extent of this bias can be seen when median durations of first marriages and remarriages are compared for the

TABLE 3. MEDIAN DURATION OF MARRIAGE: PHILADELPHIA COUNTY SAMPLE, 1937-50
(N=1,434)

	Separation	Divorce
First Marriages	5.4	10.4
Remarriages	3.4	7.1

Philadelphia divorce sample (Table 3). Remarriages, in this instance, represent those

¹³ See Paul C. Glick, “First Marriages and Remarriages,” *American Sociological Review* (December, 1949), p. 727.

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in which either one or both spouses had been previously married.

In Hemperley's Minneapolis study—the only other one the writer could discover wherein duration figures were analyzed separately for first marriages and remarriages—the difference between the median durations for first marriages and remarriages for the period 1935–1939 was 3.8 years.¹⁴ This compares with a difference of 3.3 years found in the Philadelphia data (column two, Table 3). Although he correctly separated remarriages in his analysis of marital duration, Hemperley arrived at a rather “selective” conclusion: “Comparing the median . . . length of marriage for those actions with and without previous marriage, it is evident that the median . . . length of marriage preceding divorces of persons not previously married is considerably larger than the median . . . for people who have been married previously. This would seem to indicate that *individual attitudes regarding the marital status are conditioned toward instability by a previous experience with the divorce courts.*”¹⁵ (Italics our own). This assumption may or may not be true, but certainly much of the duration differential is explainable in terms of the higher death rate for the remarried group.

(5) A final factor to be considered in connection with marriage duration is the inclusion, in our divorce-reporting system, of Negroes and the foreign born. These groups differ from native whites with respect to other marital practices, and it might be expected that their marriage duration patterns would differ also. The Philadelphia divorce data suggest that such is the case, as can be seen from the figures in Table 4.

Using the separation date as the termination of marriage, the median duration for native white first marriages was 5.1 years, while the corresponding figure for Negroes was 4.9 years. However, when the divorce date is used as the point of termination, the median durations become 9.5

and 14.9 years respectively. The elapsed time between separation and divorce is much greater among Negroes than among native whites. In other words, with regard to the *actual termination* of marriages which end in divorce, it would appear that Negro families are broken in much the same temporal pattern as native white families; that is, the peak year of separation is the first, with a subsequent yearly decline. The fact that Negroes wait considerably longer to take legal action should not obscure the underlying similarity between the two groups. While our divorce figures revealed that Negroes were slightly under-represented in Philadelphia divorce cases,¹⁶ duration data indicate that at any given time in the city there is a relatively much larger pool of Negroes who are separated from their spouses but who have not taken any legal divorce action.

With regard to the longer duration of marriages for the foreign born, as shown in Table 4, the difference in age structure for this group must be considered. Much of the observed difference in duration is due to the fact that the foreign born, as a group, are older than the native born. Their (the foreign born) marriages took place at an earlier period, hence the death factor serves to produce a spuriously long duration figure.

It should be pointed out that, in general, at the present time, it is only at the county level that both separation *and* divorce dates can be procured. An investigator making a study of Philadelphia divorce records at the state level (Harrisburg), where the only termination date transcribed is the date the divorce decree was granted, would arrive at the erroneous conclusion that the duration of Negro marriages exceeded that of whites some five and a half years.

It is the writer's feeling that the standard divorce forms (now being considered by the National Office of Vital Statistics) should include date of marital separation as well as that of final divorce. Temporal trends, for example, might indicate that in times of prosperity the average elapsed time

¹⁴ George P. Hemperley, *Divorce Records Study*, Hennepin County, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1941 (W.P.A. project), p. 138.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

¹⁶ Kephart and Monahan, *op. cit.*, p. 725.

TABLE 4. DURATION OF FIRST MARRIAGES BY SEPARATION AND DIVORCE RATES AMONG NATIVE WHITES, NEGROES, AND THE FOREIGN BORN, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY SAMPLE, 1937-1950
(N=1,256)

Duration by Years	Separation						Divorce					
	Native-White (N=926)			Negro (N=142)			Native-White (N=939)			Negro (N=142)		
	Cumulative		Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative		Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative		Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative		Per Cent of Cases
	Per Cent of Cases	Per Cent		Per Cent of Cases	Per Cent		Per Cent of Cases	Per Cent		Per Cent of Cases	Per Cent	
-1	14.7	14.7	14.1	14.1	14.1	9.1	1.3	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1	10.6	25.3	9.9	24.0	8.0	17.1	3.4	4.7	2.1	2.1	2.3	2.3
2	9.3	34.6	9.2	33.2	5.7	22.8	6.5	11.2	2.8	4.9	4.0	6.3
3	8.0	42.6	9.2	42.4	6.3	29.1	6.1	17.3	0.7	5.6	6.3	12.6
4	6.7	49.3	8.5	50.9	6.8	35.9	6.5	23.8	2.8	8.4	3.4	16.0
5	6.9	56.2	6.3	57.2	4.0	39.9	6.1	29.9	5.7	14.1	2.3	18.3
6	6.5	62.7	5.0	62.2	5.7	45.6	5.1	35.0	5.7	19.8	3.4	21.7
7	5.0	67.7	6.3	68.5	4.6	50.2	5.9	40.9	3.5	23.3	1.7	23.4
8	3.7	71.4	5.6	74.1	2.9	53.1	5.6	46.5	7.8	31.1	4.6	28.0
9	4.4	75.8	3.5	77.6	2.3	55.4	7.4	53.9	4.2	35.3	5.2	33.2
10	2.9	78.7	1.4	79.0	2.3	57.7	3.4	57.3	2.8	38.1	4.0	37.2
11	3.0	81.7	0.7	79.7	2.9	60.6	5.1	62.4	2.8	40.9	1.7	38.9
12	2.0	83.7	3.5	83.2	2.9	63.5	3.5	65.9	2.8	43.7	2.9	41.8
13	1.6	85.3	1.4	84.6	3.4	66.9	3.3	69.2	2.1	45.8	3.4	45.2
14	2.6	87.9	2.8	87.4	2.3	69.2	3.4	72.6	4.9	50.7	1.1	46.3
15-19	7.3	95.2	6.3	93.7	17.1	86.3	12.0	84.6	15.5	66.2	19.4	65.7
20-24	2.9	98.1	5.6	99.3	6.8	93.1	8.5	93.1	15.5	81.7	11.4	77.1
25-29	0.9	99.0	0.7	100.0	4.0	97.1	4.1	97.2	14.1	95.8	14.9	92.0
30 and Up	1.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	2.9	100.0	2.8	100.0	4.2	100.0	8.0	100.0
Medians:	5.1 years		4.9 years		7.9 years		9.5 years		14.9 years		15.7 years	

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between separation and divorce becomes noticeably shortened, while in depression or recession periods the interim increases. It may be, moreover, that in recent periods the separation rate in the United States is more or less constant, the conversion of separations into divorces depending upon social and economic conditions.¹⁷ Sociologically considered, the crucial question is whether or not the *marital disruption rate*—not the divorce rate—is increasing. One cue to the problem would be the inclusion, in our contemplated national divorce reporting system, of the date of actual separation as well as the date of final decree.

DURATION IN DESERTION

With the exception of Mowrer's study of desertion in Chicago,¹⁸ and Zukerman's studies of those cases reporting to his agency,¹⁹ there have been no major studies of desertion in the United States; in fact, despite its importance the subject seems slowly to be disappearing from the sociological literature. At any rate, it is not surprising that duration data on desertion and non-support cases are exceedingly rare in sociological publications.²⁰

The Philadelphia Municipal Court has compiled duration data on desertion and non-support, and for the year 1950 a fairly detailed statistical analysis, based on more

than 2,000 cases, is available.²¹ The median duration for first marriages in the 1950 desertion and non-support cases ($N = 1,803$) was 5.5 years, while the corresponding figure for remarriages ($N = 378$) was 3.7 years. As stated above, in the Philadelphia divorce sample, using separation date as the terminal point, the respective median durations were 5.4 and 3.4 years—remarkably similar figures. Since Negroes are almost three times as numerous in Philadelphia desertion cases as they are, relatively, in divorce suits, a more appropriate comparison of duration would include a racial breakdown. These figures are presented in Table 5.

Insofar as desertion and non-support are concerned, the figures indicate, at least for Philadelphia, that the duration pattern is fairly similar to that of divorce. The peak year for desertions falls in the early period of marriage (duration 2-3 years) with periodic declines thereafter. When separation dates are used, median durations for divorce cases are also comparable to those of desertions; the respective figures being 5.1 and 6.3 years for whites, and 4.9 and 4.7 years for Negroes. The fact that the white duration median is somewhat larger for the *desertion* cases can be explained at least partly by the inclusion of the older-aged foreign born group in these cases; the *divorce* figure referred to was that of native whites. It will be noted that the median duration for Negroes in desertion cases is shorter than that of the whites, thus lending further support to the belief that at any given time in Philadelphia there is relatively a much larger backlog

¹⁷ Working from available Census material Calvin Beale concluded that the rise in the national divorce rate for the 1940-49 period was not attributable to an increase in marital disruptions, but was explainable in terms of the stockpile of separations increasingly converted into legal divorces. "Increased Divorce Rates Among Separated Persons as a Factor in Divorce Since 1940," *Social Forces* (October, 1950), pp. 72-74.

¹⁸ E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

¹⁹ Jacob T. Zukerman, "A Socio-Legal Approach to Family Desertion," *Marriage and Family Living* (August, 1950), pp. 83-85; also, mimeographed releases by the National Desertion Bureau, 105 Nassau Street, New York, New York.

²⁰ Apparently the only sociological reference to (desertion) duration figures is that reported by Mowrer for the years 1921, 1929, and 1935. Median durations varied from 5.5 to 8.3 years, although the Chicago Court of Domestic Relations evidently did not give separate statistical treatment to whites, Negroes, first marriages, and remarriages. *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

²¹ In Philadelphia, desertions, unlike divorces, do not pose the problem of a time lag between date of separation and date of reporting. About 60 per cent of all recorded desertion cases are reported within 3 months following the actual date of separation, and 80 per cent within one year. *Philadelphia Municipal Court 1950 Report*, p. 175; Table 5 was adapted from the material on p. 189. Mowrer's Chicago study included elapsed time between actual desertion and date of reporting, but the lag was presented only by five-year intervals, hence it is impossible to determine what proportion of cases was reported within the first year. For the three years covered in the study, between 89 and 97 per cent of the cases were reported in the 1-5 year interval following separation. *Op. cit.*, p. 310.

of Negroes who are separated from their spouses but who have not taken any legal divorce action.

CONCLUSIONS

Sociological analyses of the duration of marriages in desertion cases are quite rare, while the interpretation of duration data for marriages ending in divorce is usually oversimplified, a number of variables being unaccounted for. These variables, furthermore, do not all operate in the same di-

TABLE 5. DURATION OF FIRST MARRIAGES IN DESERTION OR NON-SUPPORT CASES, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, 1950

Duration by Years	White (N=1,024)		Negro (N=779)	
	Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative Per Cent	Per Cent of Cases	Cumulative Per Cent
-1	7.9	7.9	10.5	10.5
1	9.6	17.5	9.6	20.1
2	10.1	27.6	12.4	32.5
3	9.3	36.9	11.4	43.9
4	6.6	43.5	9.0	52.9
5	5.4	48.9	5.4	58.3
6	3.9	52.8	4.9	63.2
7	4.1	56.9	5.8	69.0
8	5.0	61.9	5.1	74.1
9	5.0	66.9	3.6	77.7
10	3.7	70.6	2.6	80.3
11	2.7	73.3	2.1	82.4
12	3.5	76.8	2.6	85.0
13	2.8	79.6	3.7	88.7
14	1.9	81.5	1.3	90.0
15-19	7.0	88.5	6.3	96.3
20 and Up	11.5	100.0	3.7	100.0
Medians:	6.3 years		4.7 years	

rection. Some tend to exaggerate the likelihood of divorce in the early years of marriage, and others tend to weight the probability of divorce for marriages of longer duration. Up to the present there have been no published duration figures—for the United States or for any region thereof—in which all of the aforementioned variables have been controlled. The importance of these variables—the so-called level of accuracy—will, of course, depend upon the use that is made of the data.

What is the solution to the problem? As is true for most of our existing marriage and divorce statistics, it is no great feat to point out flaws in the existing duration

data. It is quite another matter to formulate a positive remedial policy. Ideally, a meaningful computation of marital duration could best be achieved through the establishment of a federally centralized marriage and divorce reporting system, similar to our current birth and death registration. Once the necessary information is recorded at the county and state levels, national duration statistics could be computed, holding constant such factors as separation date, race, nativity, and number of times married. The distorting effect of yearly marriage fluctuations could be removed by basing duration computations for divorced couples on the year of marriage. To correct for the attrition caused by death, an estimated overlay or projection of a mortality curve could be utilized. The accuracy of the statistics derived in this manner would hinge primarily on (a) the completeness of the standard divorce form, and (b) the size of the marriage and divorce registration area.

The drawback, of course, is the fact that a federally centralized marriage and divorce reporting system does not exist; and in the foreseeable future, prospects seem dim in this respect. In the meantime, sociologists working with regional marriage and divorce records are faced with both an opportunity and a challenge.

Philadelphia divorce data presented herein indicate that at the local level duration data can be refined for such factors as race, nativity, number of times married, and separation date. Techniques for minimizing the biasing effect of the death factor and the yearly fluctuations in the number of marriages are available and can be applied at the state level; in fact, the latter correction has been utilized for Iowa data.²²

At the present time, however, about half the states have no provision for the centralized collection of county divorce records. And in almost all of the states which do have central offices, certain items recorded at the county level—such as num-

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²² *Annual Report, 1951*, Division of Vital Statistics, Iowa State Department of Health, Des Moines, Iowa, pp. 83-86.

¹ See J
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pp. 111-130

ber of times married and date of separation—are not reported to the central agency. It is in this area—the area of county-to-state-reporting—that sociologists interested in the family field are faced with the challenge of bringing to the attention of public officials the necessity of standardized and comprehensive intra-state divorce registration. By working with vital statistics officials and bar association groups—both county and state—and by persuading these

groups regarding the need for more adequate divorce data, sociologists could be instrumental in the development of a better understanding of the whole marital disruption problem. It is only through concerted action of this kind, moreover, that our national objective will be attained.

On a more pragmatic note, it is the sociologists who are most in need of satisfactory divorce statistics. It is up to them to see that the status does not remain *quo*.

ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN THE MARRIAGE PATTERN BY ECONOMIC GROUPS

JOHN HAJNAL

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THE Western world has experienced several unexpected demographic changes in recent years: an accelerated fall in death rates, a sharp rise in birth rates and a sharp rise in marriage rates. This last phenomenon has attracted less attention than the "baby boom" which it has helped to cause. Yet something of a revolution seems to have occurred in marriage patterns. In several countries there has been a shift toward earlier and more universal marriage which has no parallel in the period for which statistical records exist (about one hundred years in most West European countries).¹

To what extent have different socioeconomic groups participated in this change in marriage patterns? An earlier paper presented evidence from several countries which indicated that (with some exceptions) the changes have been far more pronounced in urban areas and in the more highly educated groups than in the rural areas and among the less educated. The present paper deals with the marriage patterns of groups distinguished by certain economic characteristics. Data relating to Sweden, Australia and Switzerland are analyzed.

In the case of Sweden and Australia the same type of data has been available as was used in the previous paper,² namely the distribution of the different groups by age and marital status. From these data the percentage "ever married" in each age group can be computed, that is, the percentage married, widowed or divorced. The characteristics of this type of data are briefly discussed in the earlier paper mentioned. The Swiss Statistical Office tabulates marriages by the economic status of the bridegroom. This type of tabulation is not undertaken in other countries.

SWEDEN³

The full cross-tabulations of age and marital condition, age and various economic characteristics which are provided in the Swedish censuses could be used in a variety of ways to throw light on changes in the frequency of marriage in different economic groups. Only two simple comparisons are presented here. Table 1 shows

² John Hajnal, "Differential Changes in Marriage Patterns," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (April, 1954), pp. 148-154.

³ In translating the names of industry and status groups, an effort has been made to find English terms appropriate to the composition of each group in accordance with the usage recommended by the United Nations Statistical and Population Commissions, in preference to literal translations of the Swedish terms. See the notes on sources in the Appendix.

¹ See John Hajnal, "The Marriage Boom," *Population Index* 19 (April, 1953), pp. 80-101, and *Idem*, "Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying," *Population Studies* 7 (November, 1953), pp. 111-136.

the proportions ever married in the population dependent on each industry. The persons dependent on an industry include those economically active in the industry and their dependents. Since in different economic strata people enter economic life at different times (for example, the sons of professional men are generally students at an age when the sons of most factory

TABLE 1. SWEDEN: PERCENTAGES EVER MARRIED: MEN DEPENDENT ON VARIOUS INDUSTRY GROUPS¹

Group of Industries	Date	Absolute Figures		Increase (1930 to 1945)	
		15-29	30-49	15-29	30-49
Agriculture ²	1930	8	69		
	1940	10	65	4	-2
	1945	12	67		
Manufacturing and crafts	1930	16	79		
	1940	22	80	10	4
	1945	26	83		
Transport, communications, and commerce	1930	13	77		
	1940	19	79	12	8
	1945	25	85		
Public administration and professions	1930	14	80		
	1940	17	83	10	7
	1945	24	87		
All industries ³	1930	12	75		
	1940	17	75	10	3
	1945	22	78		

¹ For source, see Appendix.

² Including forestry and fisheries.

³ Including some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

employees work), it has seemed better to include dependents. (For data restricted to the economically active population, see Table 2.)

In the percentages for 1930 given in Table 1, a contrast is apparent between agriculture and the other industries. The proportion ever married is much lower in agriculture than in the other industries. The effect of the changes between 1930 and 1945 has been to sharpen this contrast.

For the years 1930 and 1940 only, a more detailed analysis has been possible, distinguishing within each industry group between persons of different status (as

employer, employee, etc.).⁴ Percentages ever married for these categories are presented in Table 2; Table 2a shows the increases in the percentages between 1930 and 1940.

The significance of the classification by status in agriculture is perhaps not entirely comparable with that in other industries. The proportion of administrative, clerical, and technical workers in agriculture is small; most farm workers (classed as "operatives") can expect to become independent farmers ("employers, etc."). This is not true of urban workers. Thus, in 1930, 61 per cent of the men aged 35-39 and engaged in agriculture were classed as "employers, managers, or own-account workers"; in "manufacturing and crafts" the corresponding percentage was 12 per cent. Another item which calls for special comment is the "operatives" in "public administration and professions"; the numbers in this relatively small group diminished sharply between 1930 and 1940; members of the armed forces form a considerable proportion of it. The "employers, etc." in "public administration and professions" are also a small group, but a very rapidly increasing one. In all industries the proportion of persons classified as "administrative, clerical, and technical workers" has been growing fast.

The class of "employers, etc." in all industries is the most married. Presumably this is due, in part at least, to the fact that entry into this category has often been regarded as an indication that a man is economically fit for marriage. In agriculture particularly it is said men often have to postpone marriage until they can set up on their own. At the other extreme from "employers, etc.," the class which was least married in 1930 was that of the "administrative, clerical, and technical workers" (except in agriculture).

⁴ The classification by status is not entirely comparable between 1930 and 1940 because of a difference in the treatment of unpaid family workers in the census tabulations. The figures for 1940 in Table 2 exclude all such persons; for 1930 it has not been possible to exclude those unpaid family workers who were recorded in "administrative, clerical, or technical occupation." Such persons are included with the "administrative, clerical, and technical workers" for 1930. The numbers involved are, however, small.

TABLE 2. S

Industry
Agriculture

Manufacturing
and crafts

Transport, communication
and commerce

Public administration
and professions

All industries

¹ For source, see Appendix.

² Including forestry and fisheries.

³ This includes some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

⁴ Including some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

We may see that the proportions of persons ever married in 1940, as compared with 1930, stands out. The percentage of persons ever married is much less in agriculture than in the other industries (except in agriculture).

TABLE 2A

Industry

Agriculture

Manufacturing
and crafts

Transport, communication
and commerce

Public administration
and professions

All industries

¹ Including some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

² Including some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

TABLE 2. SWEDEN: PERCENTAGES EVER MARRIED: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN BY INDUSTRY AND STATUS¹

Industry	Date	Employers, Managers and Own- Account Workers			Administrative Clerical, and Technical Workers			Operatives			All Statuses		
		20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34
Agriculture ²	1930	21	56	74	4	24	56	5	28	50	6	35	62
	1940	21	55	72	6	35	65	7	32	50	9	39	61
Manufacturing and crafts	1930	19	51	72	4	30	63	9	42	68	9	41	68
	1940	23	55	72	8	46	76	13	50	72	12	50	73
Transport, com- munications, and commerce	1930	18	48	72	3	29	61	5	32	62	6	34	64
	1940	26	59	78	9	42	70	11	46	68	11	47	71
Public adminis- tration and professions	1930	10 ³	43	69	4	30	62	5	43	74	5	36	67
	1940	19	51	72	10	47	75	5	45	73	9	47	74
All industries ⁴	1930	19	53	73	4	29	62	7	36	63	7	38	65
	1940	22	56	74	9	44	72	11	45	67	11	46	69

¹ For sources, see Appendix.² Including forestry and fisheries.³ This category comprised 49 men of whom 5 were married. All other categories in the table include over 300 persons.⁴ Including some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

We may now consider the *changes* in proportions ever married between 1930 and 1940, as shown in Table 2a. Agriculture stands out as clearly as it did in Table 1. The percentage ever married has increased much less than in other industries. The farmers (i.e., "employers, etc." in agriculture) are the only large group who experi-

enced a fall in the proportions ever married between 1930 and 1940. In the industries other than agriculture the greatest increases in proportions ever married occurred where the 1930 proportions were the lowest, among the "administrative, clerical, and technical workers." Large increases also occurred among the "opera-

TABLE 2A. SWEDEN: INCREASES IN PERCENTAGES EVER MARRIED: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN BY INDUSTRY AND STATUS
(Source: Table 2)

Industry	Employers, Managers, and Own- Account Workers			Administrative, Clerical, and Technical Workers			Operatives			All Statuses		
	20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34
Agriculture ¹	0	-1	-2	2	11	9	2	4	0	3	4	-1
Manufacturing and crafts	4	4	0	4	16	13	4	8	4	3	9	5
Transport, com- munications, and commerce	8	11	6	6	13	9	6	14	6	5	13	7
Public adminis- tration and professions	9	8	3	6	17	13	0	2	-1	4	11	7
All industries ²	3	3	1	5	15	10	4	9	4	4	8	4

¹ Including forestry and fisheries.² Including some persons not covered by the four major industry groups listed.

tives" in the "transport" group of industries, a class which in 1930 also had low proportions ever married.

As a result of these changes, the differences between the various groups in Table 2 (outside agriculture) were narrowed between 1930 and 1940. The "administrative, clerical, and technical workers" are no longer conspicuous as a group of low marriage frequency. Thus, in 1930, the proportion ever married in this status in "public administration and professions" was only 30 per cent in the age range 25-29, compared with 38 per cent for all economically active persons in this age range. In 1940 corresponding figures were 47 and 46 per cent respectively.

Australian data are of about the same magnitude in all classes, whereas in Sweden the increase among employees was much larger than among employers.

SWITZERLAND

The Swiss Statistical Office has published an analysis of marriages classified by economic category of the bridegroom. Figures from this analysis are reproduced in Table 4.

Table 4 shows a striking contrast between the two status groups, "independents" and "employees." The increase in the number of marriages has been confined to the "employee" class. In this respect the Swiss figures are in agreement with the Swedish

TABLE 3. AUSTRALIA: PERCENTAGES EVER MARRIED: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MEN BY STATUS, 1933 AND 1947 ¹

Status	Date	Percentages			Increase (1933 to 1947)		
		20-24	25-29	30-34	20-24	25-29	30-34
Employers	1933	20	51	74			
	1947	34	72	86	14	21	12
Self-employed	1933	18	46	68			
	1947	27	62	78	9	16	10
Employees	1933	13	44	68			
	1947	24	63	79	11	19	11
All men ²	1933	13	44	67			
	1947	23	62	78	10	18	11

¹ For sources, see Appendix.

² Includes unpaid family workers ("helpers"), persons not economically active and persons whose status was not reported.

AUSTRALIA

From the tabulations of the Australian censuses of 1933 and 1947 it is possible to compute the proportions ever married by age for status classes (employers, own-account workers, and employees). This material is shown in Table 3. For the industrial and occupation classifications, no tabulation combining age with marital condition is available, so that it is not possible to subdivide the status classes by industry as was done for Sweden.

The relationships between the proportions ever married of the different status classes in Australia are similar to those observed elsewhere. Among the employers there is a higher proportion married than among the employees. However, the changes between 1933 and 1947 indicated by the

data described above. The large increase in marriages shown in Table 4 among employees in the "free professions" also suggests that similar developments have been occurring in both Switzerland and Sweden. If the marriages of "independents" and "employees" are added together, it appears that the group "primary production" experienced a smaller increase in marriages than any other except the small subgroup headed "clothing trades," which covers "tailors, shoemakers, and barbers." ⁵ The

⁵ The combined index (independents plus employees) in the food-processing trades (millers, bakers, dairymen, etc.) was also below that for primary production in three years (1942-1944). The total increase in marriages over the whole period covered by the table was, however, greater in food-processing trades than in primary production. The combined index for any occupation is

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group "primary production" is the only one in which the absolute number (as distinguished from index number) of marriages of "independents" was greater than that of the employees; in the "clothing trades" there were in 1936-38 about the same absolute number of both classes, while in all other groups the marriages of employees were much more numerous. The small "marriage boom" in primary pro-

status of the population, such as are used elsewhere in this paper, need to be kept in mind. The most important qualification of the Swiss data is that trends in the numbers of marriages in different groups are affected by changes in the numbers of persons in those groups.⁶ For example, the proportion of "independents" has presumably declined since 1941 (the date of the last published census), and this alone would

TABLE 4. SWITZERLAND: INDEX NUMBERS OF MARRIAGES BY ECONOMIC GROUP OF BRIDEGROOM ¹

(Indices [1932-34=100] corrected for changes in total marriageable population aged 18-64)

Status	Primary Production	Manufacturing and Crafts				Administration, Commerce, Services		Grand Total
		Total ²	Food- Proc- essing Trades	Clothing Trades ³	Metals and Machine Trades	Total ²	Free Pro- fessions	
Independent persons								
1936-38	93	92	91	92	92	96	96	93
1939	80	81	76	79	84	101	102	86
1942	102	94	64	85	82	94	99	98
1943	99	91	71	81	74	91	85	94
1944	97	88	56	80	81	90	86	92
1945	100	94	68	79	82	95	88	97
1946	105	100	76	73	95	108	99	104
1947	98	102	69	74	94	107	110	102
1948	87	95	74	67	88	112	110	95
Employees								
1936-38	105	95	103	78	96	92	96	95
1939	99	102	105	74	112	100	111	101
1942	124	122	122	83	133	111	121	118
1943	125	116	126	81	123	112	128	115
1944	125	110	123	79	117	113	119	113
1945	121	112	140	84	115	118	133	115
1946	121	127	137	81	128	129	140	127
1947	101	135	142	78	138	138	143	132
1948	99	136	140	82	142	145	154	136

¹ For source, see Appendix.² Total includes many other occupations than those for which detailed information (as given in adjacent columns) was published in the original source.³ A closer translation would perhaps be "trades concerned with dressing." The group consists of tailors, shoemakers, and barbers.

duction, which reflects the high proportion of "independents," is in accord with the findings already described regarding urban-rural differences in various countries and regarding agriculture in Sweden.

However, the differences between data on marriages and figures on the marital

tend to produce a greater appearance of marriage boom in the employed than the independent population. Moreover, the position of being "employed" or "independent" is strongly of "variable definition"; most people who end up independent begin as

a weighted mean of the indices for independents and employees in that occupation, the weights being proportionate to the absolute numbers of independents and employees in the base period (1932-1934).

⁶ The indices in Table 4 have been adjusted to eliminate the year-to-year changes in the total number of unmarried men of marriageable age in Switzerland but are not corrected for changes in the distribution of this number between economic categories.

employees. A general tendency to earlier marriage might be reflected in more marriages of employed people who later become independent.

CONCLUSIONS

The materials analyzed in this paper are closely related to the evidence discussed in a previous paper regarding the varying extent to which rural and urban areas and different education groups have participated in the marriage boom in the United States, Denmark, Sweden, Australia and New Zealand. It is convenient, therefore, to review the whole picture together.

The very slight data from Australia and New Zealand suggest that in those lands, town and country, employers and employees have participated about equally in the marriage boom. The relationship between the marriage patterns of different groups has not been altered.

The figures for the United States and three European countries (Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland) present a more interesting picture. In these countries, the marriage boom has apparently been accompanied by drastic changes in the relationship between the marriage patterns of different social groups. It is not possible on the basis of the evidence now available to be very definite about what has happened. Past experience with patterns of differential fertility suggests that developments in different countries may have been broadly similar. Each of the following statements is supported by evidence for at least two of the four countries mentioned.

The change in marriage tendency has been greater

- (a) in urban areas than in the countryside,
- (b) among the more educated than among the less educated,
- (c) among employees than among employers.

It is the groups which have been increasing their share of the population that at the same time show the greatest change in marriage patterns (that is, the urban has grown faster than the rural, and so on).

It has sometimes been argued⁷ that modern social trends in Western civilization make for a postponement or even the total avoidance of marriage. The lengthening of the period of education and training, the emancipation of women, the increase in the proportion of people engaged in middle-class "white-collar" occupations, and the general spread of urban middle-class standards and habits of life have all been believed to be forces making for later marriage. In the last two decades, all these things have been spreading as never before. Yet during the same period there has occurred an unprecedented movement toward more and earlier marriage.

Study of the differential incidence of the marriage boom in various socio-economic groups can give clues to how these two seemingly contradictory trends fit together. The data suggest that the relation between them is very different from what might have been expected. The figures employed for the United States and the European countries mentioned suggest that on the whole the marriage boom has been most pronounced precisely in those groups which, according to the theory indicated in the last paragraph, harbor the strongest tendencies toward the postponement and avoidance of marriage—the urban "white-collar" workers.

Such a change (if it were to be confirmed by subsequent studies) is of some sociological importance. It must clearly be taken into account in explanations of the marriage boom. The change may be connected with changes in the motivations which govern marriage and family building. An attitude of prudent rationality in weighing the pleasures of family life against economic considerations and prospects of advancement in the social scale is believed to be particularly characteristic of the "white-collar" class. Descriptions of this spirit bulk large in many analyses of the causes of the declining birth rate.⁸ Late

⁷ See, for example, Edward Westermarck, *A Short History of Marriage*, New York, 1926, pp. 48–52.

⁸ United Nations Economic and Social Council, Population Commission, *Findings of Studies on the Relationship between Population Trends and*

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marriage as well as a small family have been believed to assist in social mobility, or perhaps rather early marriage is felt to hinder it.

There seem to be many possibilities for research in this area. One obvious question is the relationship between the marriage boom and the baby boom of the last few years. There is no doubt that there is a formal relationship, i.e., that the increase in the number of births is in part simply a reflection of the increase in the number of marriages. However, the more complex question of what changes have occurred in the childbearing behavior of married couples in different socio-economic groups and how these changes are related to the differential marriage pattern has not yet been answered. Various measures of fertility in different countries show that the baby boom has been on the whole most pronounced in the groups of lowest fertility, where the marriage boom appears also to have been the greatest.⁹ Most of these measures do not distinguish between the effects of an increase in the number of marriages and the consequences of changes in the fertility of married couples,¹⁰ but the parallel between the marriage boom and the baby boom is suggestive. Could it be that early marriage or even the early starting of a family is no longer felt to be a rash act for a young man in circumstances where social norms formerly would have

demanded delay? Perhaps in a world of uncertainty the future is more readily being discounted in favor of present enjoyment. Or the economic factors involved in marriage and setting up a household may have altered. The economic transformations of the last few decades might well be analyzed from the point of view of their effects on people's economic aspirations and on the standards regarded as prerequisites for marriage. The changing norms in respect to marriage may be intimately connected with fundamental changes in modern society.

APPENDIX: SOURCES FOR TABLES

Table 1

Sweden:

- (1) Sweden. Statistiska Centralbyrån. *Folkräkningen den 31 December 1930*. Vol. VII. *Folkmängden efter yrke, inkomst och förmögenhet*: 2 avd. Stockholm, 1937. Table 1B.
- (2) Sweden. Statistiska Centralbyrån. *Folkräkningen den 31 December 1940*. Vol. III *Folkmängden efter yrke*. Stockholm, 1943. Table 23B.
- (3) Sweden. Statistiska Centralbyrån. *Folkräkningen den 31 December 1945*. Vol. II:1. *Partiella undersökningar (Tolvtedelssamplingen)*. Behandlar delar av statistiken över kön, ålder och civilstånd. . . . Stockholm, 1948. Table 10b.

The industrial groups used are those of the census of 1930. The corresponding groups have been made up from somewhat more detailed classifications given in the sources cited for 1940 and 1945.

Table 2

Sweden:

- (1) Sweden. Statistiska Centralbyrån. *Folkräkningen 1930*. Vol. VII. Table 2.
- (2) Sweden. Statistiska Centralbyrån. *Folkräkningen 1940*. Vol. III. Table 24.

More detailed citations to these volumes are given above, under Table 1.

The industrial groups used in Table 2 are the same as those in Table 1. The status cate-

Economic and Social Factors (Provisional revised report submitted by the Secretariat), "Economic and Social Factors Affecting Fertility," United Nations Document E/CN.9/82, 24 April 1951, paragraph 112.

⁹ Evidence on the incidence of the baby boom in different groups has been reviewed by Bernardo Colombo, *La recente inversione nella tendenza della natalità*, Venezia, Facoltà di Economia e Commercio, Collana Ca' Foscari (Padua, 1951), Chapter VI.

¹⁰ However, the Royal Commission on Population in Great Britain collected data on the family size of married couples in a special family census in 1946. They concluded that among non-manual workers, family size had probably increased during the period of the baby boom, but that this had probably not occurred among manual workers. See Royal Commission on Population, *Report*, Cmd. 7695 (London, 1949), pp. 55-56.

proportionate to the community's population would produce an *Index* for each class of 100. Instead of an equal representation, however, the following measures were found: the *Index* in class I was 23; class II, 33; class III, 48; class IV, 84; and class V, 246. The *Index* in class V was eleven times higher than in class I.

Two alternative hypotheses to account for these differences are here examined: (1) schizophrenics are geographically mobile and socially mobile downward, hence the concentration of patients in class V; (2) the *Index of Current Prevalence* reflects differences in treatment received in the several classes and responses to it.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Hypothesis 1: Social Mobility. The possible effects of geographic and social mobility on schizophrenia were revealed originally by the finding of Faris and Dunham that schizophrenics, upon first admission to a mental hospital, come principally from the most deteriorated ecological areas of cities.⁶ Some critics of this conclusion argued that the patients drifted to these areas as a result of their disorders⁷ and thus the high rates of hospital admissions from these areas are illusory.⁸ This drift hypothesis assumes that persons who develop one of the schizophrenic disorders are so ill that they cannot maintain normal social relations, and so drift into both geographic and downward social mobility. The drift hypothesis also assumes that the schizophrenics originate randomly in the population. If these assumptions are correct, one should find a large concentration of geographically transient and socially downward mobile persons in the class V patient group.

The present study tests both the geographic and the downward mobility aspects of the drift hypothesis. Three tests were

made of the geographic part of the hypothesis. First, the nativity of the adult patients was compared with the nativity of the total adult population of the community to see if there was an association between nativity and schizophrenia. This comparison was made because immigration represents the largest geographic movement. Conceivably there may also be some relationship between the "culture shock" associated with immigration, and schizophrenia. Since no significant association is found between nativity and the presence or absence of schizophrenia in the population, the study gives no support to the hypothesis of a functional linkage between international migration and the current treated prevalence of schizophrenia.⁹

The second step in the test of the mobility hypothesis is the examination of where the native-born patients of each class had been born and reared, in order to determine if there is a significant relationship between class position and geographic mobility within the United States.

The data in Table 1 show that movement from community of birth and rearing, to

TABLE 1. PLACE BORN AND REARED FOR NATIVE-BORN SCHIZOPHRENICS BY CLASS

Origin	I and II	III	IV	V
New Haven community	12	51	212	153
New England	7	14	49	46
United States	8	15	40	51
Total	27	80	301	250

Chi-square=11.8971, P greater than .05.

community of present residence (New Haven), is not a significant factor in the current prevalence pattern. Some 65 per cent of the native-born patients had been lifelong residents of the community, and 35 per cent were immigrants. If the geographic transiency hypotheses were correct, these immigrants should be concentrated in class V. The facts are otherwise. If the class I and class II patients, who had been born and reared in the New Haven community, are compared with the

⁶ R. E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

⁷ See the review of *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* by A. Myerson, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 96 (January, 1940), pp. 995-997.

⁸ A. J. Jaffe and E. Shanas, "Economic Differentials in the Probability of Insanity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (January, 1935), pp. 534-539.

⁹ The figures were: patients, 643 native-born; 193 foreign-born; general population, 135,568 native-born; 34,900 foreign-born. Chi-square=3.4871, P greater than .05.

class V patients, who also had been born and reared in the community, it is revealed that only 44 per cent of the members of classes I and II were native to New Haven, and that a much higher proportion—61 per cent of the class V members—had been lifelong residents of the community. Thus, it may be concluded that the class V patients were not largely transients who had drifted to the New Haven community. The next inquiry concerns whether the class V patients had drifted to the slums in the course of their lives. The answer is crucial to the test of the "downward drift" hypotheses. For this purpose, the investigators obtained residential histories of the 428 patients who had lived in the community all of their lives. After the individual histories were compiled by address, there was assigned to each address the ecological value of the area as determined by the studies of Davie¹⁰ and Myers.¹¹ After the residential movements of the patients had been tabulated and evaluated by ecological areas, the conclusion was clear that most of the members of class I and II have lived always in the same types of ecological areas, and that the members of class V have also lived in the slums all their lives. The members of classes III and IV show greater irregularities, but there is no evidence of a significant drift to the slums with the onset of schizophrenia.¹² The present data thus clearly support the position Faris and Dunham developed in their examination of the validity of the drift hypotheses as an explanation of the high commitment rates of schizophrenics from poor ecological areas.¹³

A final test of the mobility hypothesis is made by examining data indicating whether schizophrenics are socially down-

ward mobile. A first step was to search the family histories of the patients to learn the class positions of their families of orientation. Then each patient was located in the class system. Enough evidence was found to determine the class positions of the families of 92 per cent of the patients. The data are summarized in Table 2. The

TABLE 2. SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG SCHIZOPHRENICS THROUGH TWO OR MORE GENERATIONS BY CLASS

Evidence of Mobility	Class of Patients				
	I and II	III	IV	V	
Patient and family stable	20	54	322	340	
Patient upward from family	7	19	6	...	
Patient downward from family	1	2	3	4	
Family history insufficient to determine mobility	1	8	21	39	
Total	29	83	352	383	

most significant points in the table are: first, that 91 per cent of the patients, whose histories were adequate for our purposes, were in the same class as their families of orientation; second, that only 1.3 per cent of the patients were in a lower class than their families, whereas 4.4 per cent were in a higher class; and third, that 89 per cent of the class V patients came out of class V families, but only 69 per cent of the class I and II patients originally belonged to class I and II families.

The result clearly shows that few schizophrenics move downward in class level. Considering together the facts of Tables 1 and 2, the conclusion is obvious that neither geographic transiency nor downward social mobility can account for the sharp class differences in the distribution of schizophrenic patients revealed by the *Index of Current Prevalence*.

Hypothesis 2: Quality of Treatment. This hypothesis assumes that the *Index of Current Prevalence* reflects both the types of treatment patients in a given class receive, and the ways they respond to it. It is tested here by several operations. First an *Index of Prevalence* was constructed for various numbers of years patients had been in treatment, to see if the index varied through these years. The results are given in Table 3.

¹⁰ M. R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," in *Studies in the Science of Society*, G. P. Murdock (editor), New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937, pp. 133-161.

¹¹ J. K. Myers, "The Homogeneity of Census Tracts: A Methodological Problem in Urban Ecological Research," *Social Forces* (in press).

¹² The residential movement of schizophrenic patients and a sub-sample of controls matched for age and class position will be presented in a forthcoming paper by August B. Hollingshead.

¹³ For a discussion of these points, see Robert E. L. Faris, *Social Disorganization*, New York: The Ronald Press, 1948, pp. 230-231.

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The *Index of Current Prevalence* varies greatly in each class by duration of treatment. In classes I and II the *Index* is highest during the first two years, from the third year through the twentieth year it is stable, and after 21 years of treatment it drops again. The *Index* in class V, however, drops from the first to the second year, rises again during years 3-5, and continues from this point to increase with the length of time patients have been in treatment. Clearly, the several classes respond in significantly different ways to the treatment process.

TABLE 3. INDEX OF PREVALANCE BY DURATION OF TREATMENT IN EACH CLASS

Years in Treatment	Index Numbers by Class			
	I and II	III	IV	V
1	84	43	102	176
2	102	52	105	144
3-5	26	71	101	175
6-10	25	60	101	194
11-20	26	20	86	280
21 and above	10	40	70	308
Index of current prevalence	29	48	84	246

The second step in the test of the treatment hypothesis is to determine if treatment is actually different from one class to another. This test is divided into three phases: (1) how the patient came into treatment, (2) where he was treated, and (3) how he was treated.

Schizophrenics come to a psychiatrist either through self-selection or coercion. If a patient came to a physician or hospital either of his own will or through the influence of his family, the contact is here termed self-selection. When the contact involved the police, the sheriff, or the courts, it is classified as coercion. The frequencies of each type of contact in the various classes are summarized in Table 4.

The data in Table 4 demonstrate that the lower the class the greater the tendency for schizophrenic patients to reach the attention of a psychiatrist through the instrumentality of the law. Conversely, self-selection contacts are associated with higher class positions.

The places where patients are treated differ as sharply from class to class as are

the ways they get to a psychiatrist. Class I and II patients are most frequently treated by private practitioners, or in private mental hospitals. Only a few reach a state hospital, and then only after they have been in private treatment for years and their funds have been exhausted. Class III patients usually start their treatment with a practitioner or in a private hospital, but after about a year approximately one-half go into a state hospital. In class IV, from 12 to 15 per cent begin treatment with a practitioner or enter a private hospital for a short time, then they go to a

TABLE 4. SELF-SELECTION AND COERCION IN FIRST CONTACTS WITH A PSYCHIATRIST BY CLASS

Type of Contact	I and II	III	IV	V
Self-selection	21	25	67	54
Coercion	8	58	285	329
Total	29	83	352	383

Chi-square=64.2902, P less than .001.

state hospital; the vast majority go directly to a state hospital. About 95 per cent of the class V patients are taken to a state hospital from their homes. Since a person may be committed voluntarily to a state hospital in Connecticut, coercion is presumably not necessary. The differences in place of treatment by class are a function of the class cultures rather than the legal system.

Because therapy in the first years of contact may be a crucial factor in understanding the concentration of patients in class V, the present discussion of therapy is limited to the three principal therapies received by patients who began their treatment after January 1, 1946: hospitalization only, organic therapies, and psychotherapies. Therapy data on these cases are summarized in Table 5. These patients represent the following percentages of all schizophrenic patients in each class: classes I and II, 41; class III, 29; class IV, 23; class V, 16.

The data in Table 5 show that the *type of therapy* a patient receives, during the first five years of treatment, is related significantly to class position. The vast majority of patients in each class received one of the organic treatments or a type of

psychotherapy. The organic therapies—drugs, surgical procedures such as lobotomy, and shock, mainly, electric shock—were most strongly associated with class V patients. Seventy per cent of the class V schizophrenics were treated with an organic therapy, compared with 65 per cent of patients from class IV, 54 per cent from class III, and only 17 per cent from classes I and II. On the other hand, the psycho-

cent of persons of class V were treated by the use of individual psychotherapy; however, an additional 9 per cent received some group psychotherapy. The percentages of patients treated by psychotherapy in classes III and IV ranged between these extremes. The patients in the "none" category of Table 5 were hospitalized, but they did not receive any specific psychiatric therapy beyond custodial hospital care.

TABLE 5. TYPES OF THERAPY SCHIZOPHRENICS RECEIVED BY CLASS WHO WERE IN TREATMENT FOR 5 YEARS AND LESS *

Type of Therapy	I and II	III	IV	V
None	..	3	7	7
Organic	2	13	59	40
Psychotherapy, individual	10	4	16	5
Psychotherapy, group	..	4	8	5
Total	12	24	90	57

Chi-square=38.9143, P less than .001.

* The chi-square for 6-19 years of treatment by class with 6 degrees of freedom was 30.1769, P less than .001; for 20 years and more the chi-square with 6 degrees of freedom was 7.7307, P greater than .20. After twenty years of illness the class differences in therapy disappear, because practically all patients are in the "back wards" of state hospitals, where they receive no treatment other than custodial care.

therapies were most strongly associated with class I and II patients. Some 83 per cent of these two classes received individual psychotherapy, but only 9 per

CONCLUSIONS

The present study indicates there is a highly significant relationship between class position and the prevalence of treated schizophrenic patients in the population of the New Haven community. To explain this relationship the data were analyzed in terms of two hypotheses: (1) schizophrenic patients are geographically and socially mobile; (2) current prevalence is a measure of the responses patients in the several classes make to the treatment process. The mobility hypothesis was not supported by the tests, but the hypothesis of differential responses to the treatment process was supported. This later hypothesis, however, does not throw light upon the fundamental question of why, from the beginning of treatment, schizophrenic patients are more highly concentrated in class V than in the higher classes. A definitive answer to this question can come only from further research.

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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND PSYCHIATRIC PRACTICE: A STUDY OF AN OUT-PATIENT CLINIC *

JEROME K. MYERS AND LESLIE SCHAFER

Yale University

THIS paper is an analysis of the relationship between social class and the selection and treatment of patients in a psychiatric out-patient clinic. It grew out of another research project in which the authors are engaged.¹ In that study a significant relationship was found between the social class background of patients and the type of psychiatric treatment they received.² There was a distinctly higher percentage of patients receiving some form of *psychotherapy* in the upper social classes. In contrast, the percentage of persons receiving *custodial care* only or some form of *organic therapy* was greater in the lower social classes.

Because of the significance of these findings, the present authors studied the relationship between social class and psychiatric treatment in more detail, examining a setting where only one type of treatment (psychotherapy) was administered and where most patients had the same disorder (neurosis). In the process was tested an economic explanation offered by many psychiatrists for the findings of the study mentioned above.

Most psychotherapy is administered in private practice and is expensive. It was argued, therefore, that lower class people cannot afford such treatment. There is reason to believe, however that the economic explanation is not wholly satisfactory. Therefore, the authors examined the records of all cases (195 in number)³ that came to the clinic from October 1, 1950 to September 30, 1951, to determine if social class was related to: (1) acceptance for treatment, and (2) nature of treatment as measured by (a) training and status of the therapist, (b) duration of treatment, and (c) intensity of treatment.

The institution is a training and community clinic where treatment is oriented around expressive psychotherapy. Such therapy is verbal and interpersonal in nature, and based upon fundamental psychoanalytic principles. It requires relatively long and intensive contact between patient and therapist. Anyone with an income of under 5,000 dollars a year and residing within a given geographic area is eligible for care, and the fees charged are nominal and scaled. On theoretical grounds, if ability to pay were the important component in psychotherapy, we would expect that acceptance for therapy and the character of subsequent experience in the clinic would not be related to the patient's social class. This hypothesis was deduced from the economic arguments advanced by psychiatrists to explain the differential association of therapy with social class in the earlier, more comprehensive study.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The clinic's procedure in selecting patients was as follows: If an individual seeking psychiatric help met the clinic's residential and financial requirements, he was

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1953. At the time of the research, Dr. Schaffer was a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow of the National Institute of Mental Health, U.S.P.H.S., F.S.A.

¹ A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "The Relationship of Social Structure to Psychiatric Disorders" aided by U.S.P.H.S. Mental Health Act Grant MH 263(R).

² F. C. Redlich, A. B. Hollingshead, et al., "Social Structure and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 109 (April, 1953), pp. 729-34; A. B. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163-69; H. A. Robinson, F. C. Redlich, and J. K. Myers, "Social Structure and Psychiatric Treatment," in press for *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*; B. H. Roberts and J. K. Myers, "Religion, National Origin, Immigration, and Mental Illness," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 110 (April, 1954), pp. 759-64.

³ Twelve cases which could not be class-typed because of paucity of data were omitted from the following analysis.

referred to an intake interviewer who was either a social worker or a psychiatrist. This interviewer obtained from the patient necessary information to present his case to an intake conference at which all the clinic's psychiatric personnel decided whether or not therapy should be administered. All of the patients accepted by the intake interviewer became the subjects of our study. We classified these individuals operationally according to a method described in a previous paper,⁴ using a five-class system developed by Hollingshead, in which the highest status group is labeled class I, with the others following in nu-

merical order, class V being the lowest.⁵ The social class distribution of persons seen by the intake interviewer was as follows: class II-9 per cent, class III-28 per cent, class IV-39 per cent, and class V-23 per cent.⁶ It is clear that persons from all social classes, except the highest, sought aid at the clinic. Whether or not an individual was recommended for treatment, however, was directly related to his social class position as can be seen in Table 1. Nearly two-thirds of class V persons were not recommended for therapy, compared to about one-fifth of persons in class IV and only one-tenth of those in classes II and III. Certainly the economic hypothesis is not supported by these findings.

Just as interesting is the fact that there was a significant difference in the training of the personnel assigned to treat patients in the various social classes. The trained

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PATIENTS BY SOCIAL CLASS AND INTAKE CONFERENCE DECISION

Conference Decision	Social Class			
	II	III	IV	V
No treatment recommended	11.8	9.6	22.2	64.3
Assigned to staff	35.3	17.3	2.8	.0
Assigned to resident psychiatrist	29.4	38.5	30.6	2.4
Assigned to medical student	.0	9.6	26.4	23.8
Assigned to other therapist (social workers, psychology students)	5.9	7.7	9.7	7.1
Referred to other agencies	11.8	17.3	4.2	2.4
Unknown *	5.9	.0	4.2	.0
	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0

Chi-square=81.7924, p less than .001. N=183.

* Unknown cases were not included in the chi-square computation.

staff psychiatrists treated mainly class II and class III patients; resident psychiatrists in training treated class III and class IV patients; and medical students, taking a four week course, treated class IV and class V patients. The fully trained staff did not treat any patients in class V and only two in class IV. In contrast, medical students with no previous experience in psychotherapy treated no patients in class II and only five in class III.

The third relationship between class position and treatment was that the duration of therapy varied significantly from one class to another. The data in Table 2 show that the higher a patient's social class, the longer his treatment. The percentage of persons receiving treatment for ten or more weeks increased from 14 in class V to 59 in class II. On the other hand, nearly half of all class V patients were seen less than one week, but only 12 per cent of

⁴ Redlich, Hollingshead, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁵ A brief description of each class is as follows: *Class I* comprises families of wealth, education, and top social prestige; *class II* consists of families in which the adults for the most part hold college degrees and in which the husbands have executive, high-level managerial, or professional occupations; *Class III* includes proprietors, white-collar workers, and some skilled workers; they are mostly high school graduates; *class IV* consists largely of semi-skilled workers with less than a high school education; *class V* includes unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who have a grade-school education or less, and who live in the poorest areas of the community.

⁶ The social class distribution of the New Haven population is as follows: class I—3 per cent, class II—8 per cent, class III—21 per cent, class IV—50 per cent, and class V—18 per cent.

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TABLE 2.
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TABLE 3.
BY SOCIAL CLASS

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Chi-square

those in class II were seen for such a short period.

The intensity of treatment, as measured by number of contacts with therapist, was also significantly greater in the higher social class. The percentage of persons seen ten or more times rose from 12 in class V to 53 in class II, and the percentage of persons seen only once declined from 45 in class V to 18 in class II.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PATIENTS BY SOCIAL CLASS AND DURATION OF CONTACT WITH CLINIC

Length of Contact	Social Class			
	II	III	IV	V
Less than one week	11.8	26.9	37.5	47.6
1-9 weeks	29.4	26.9	33.3	38.1
10 or more weeks	58.8	46.2	29.2	14.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=17.5029, p less than .01. $N=183$.

This relationship between the nature of treatment and the patient's social class is illustrated even more strikingly by analysis of only those cases assigned to a therapist at the intake conference, instead of all cases accepted initially.

As indicated in Table 4, the percentage of patients seen ten or more times declined from 75 in class II to only 29 in class V. These findings indicate clearly that lower class persons did not receive as long and intensive treatment as those higher in the class system.

It must be recognized that factors other than social class may be related to acceptance for treatment and subsequent therapeutic experience. Sex and age of the patient and professional status of the intake interviewer, suggested by psychiatrists as

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PATIENTS BY SOCIAL CLASS AND TOTAL NUMBER OF TIMES SEEN IN CLINIC

Times Seen	Social Class			
	II	III	IV	V
One	17.6	23.1	38.9	45.2
2-9	29.4	28.8	40.3	42.9
10 or more	52.9	48.1	20.9	11.9
	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

Chi-square=22.5410, p less than .001. $N=183$.

perhaps being relevant, were not. The chi square test was used, and significance was defined at the .05 level. Diagnosis, however, was found to be significantly related to acceptance and subsequent clinical experience. Although most patients were neurotics, approximately one-quarter were suspected of being psychotic and were treated differently. They were not accepted for therapy as frequently as neurotics and did not receive as long and intensive treatment by as highly trained personnel. This did not account for the differential treatment of patients by social class, however, since there was no significant difference in the class distribution of suspected psychotics and neurotics.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PATIENTS ACCEPTED AT INTAKE CONFERENCE BY SOCIAL CLASS AND DURATION OF THERAPY

Times Seen	Social Class			
	II	III	IV	V
1-9	25.0	36.8	70.0	71.4
10 or more	75.0	63.2	30.0	28.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=15.4446, p less than .01. $N=114$.

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

In summary, it was found that in a situation where the economic factor was held constant, acceptance for therapy and the character of subsequent clinical experience were related significantly to the patient's social class; the higher an individual's social class position, the more likely he was to be accepted for treatment, to be treated by highly trained personnel, and to be treated intensively over a long period.

Although the necessary data to explain these findings are lacking, some tentative explanations which might lead to further research are offered. It may be that differences in the social class backgrounds between psychiatrists, who are mainly from classes I and II, and class IV and V patients are important factors in the differential acceptance rates and subsequent clinic experience. Variations, according to social class, in the conception of the psychiatrist's role and the meaning of therapy

seem important. For instance, the psychiatrist's values concerning who should be treated appear to influence the acceptance of patients. Also, lower class persons do not seem to share with psychiatrists the conception of therapy as a process by which the patient gains insight into his problems. Frequently, such patients conceive of the therapist's role in magical terms.

Psychotherapy involves intimate communicative interaction between the patient and therapist. Therefore it may be facilitated if a certain similarity in culturally determined symbols and learned drives exist in both patient and therapist. Differences in value systems and patterns of communi-

cation, on the other hand, may hamper the establishment of the therapeutic relationship. At present, it appears possible that lower-class patients need to acquire new symbols and values to participate in expressive psychotherapy. Since this is a difficult process, many of them may be considered unpromising candidates for successful treatment. According to the clinic's staff they often "lack motivation for psychotherapy" or are not "psychologically minded." Perhaps psychiatrists need to acquire new symbols and values in dealing with lower class patients; or perhaps new approaches are necessary to bring psychotherapy to such persons.

A STUDY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION USING AN AREA SAMPLE OF RATERS *

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It is the purpose of this study to examine empirically, within the confines of a selected community, the conceptions of social stratification as described by an area sample of community members.

It has been the practice in empirical studies of social stratification for the researcher to select a group of raters or judges on the basis of qualifying criteria such as length of residence in the community or breadth of acquaintance with members of the community.¹ The implicit assumption in such studies is that some

persons are better qualified than others to judge the social status of their fellow townsmen. With one noteworthy exception,² these studies have found that a distinct stratification pattern did indeed exist, and that it consisted of a fixed number of social strata. Such a pattern, however useful or accurate it may be, is the pattern as seen *from the perspective of the raters*. As the qualifications of the raters are increased in number, the perspective becomes more limited.

In contrast, the basic assumption of this study is that effective status judgments may be made by any or all members of a community who are in interaction, and that these judgments may furnish at least a partial basis for differential attitudes and behavior toward different categories of community members. Such a premise necessitated the use of a minimum number of qualifications for the selection of raters. Raters were therefore chosen at regular intervals from an ordered geographical pattern of dwellings.

"Social stratification pattern" was tentatively defined as an ideal construct of a

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1953.

¹ August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949; Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (September, 1952), pp. 139-144; Raymond W. Mack, "Housing as an Index of Social Class," *Social Forces*, 29 (May, 1951), pp. 391-400; W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949; James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; and Wayne Wheeler, *Social Stratification in a Plains Community*, Minneapolis: Wayne Wheeler, 1949.

² Lenski, *op. cit.*

social aggregation which distinguishes categories of persons as generally inferior or superior to one another.

The community chosen for study is here called Citrus City, a fictitious name. It is a city of about 4,200 people, located in the great valley below the Sierra Madre range in Southern California. Citrus City was not chosen as a typical American community, if such can be said to exist. However, the ability of the citizens, who were born elsewhere in the United States for the most part, to live together without overt conflict, their acceptance of the general moral and cultural patterns, their very ability to communicate, all give evidence of a strain toward cultural homogeneity in American social organization. To that extent Citrus City is representative of the small town in the United States.

After some preliminary experimentation, the following null hypotheses were formulated:

(1) There exists no uniform set of clearly defined criteria by means of which the citizens of Citrus City judge the social strata of which their fellows are constituents.

(2) There is no generally recognized number of social strata in Citrus City.

(3) There is no community consensus on the relative social strata of which a sizeable number of the residents of Citrus City should be constituents.

A sample of fifty-six persons was interviewed. Without any special instructions other than that a study of social life in Citrus City was being made, they were asked to describe the "social classes" in the community, to nominate persons whom they believed to be representative of each "class," and to tell how they thought persons became identified with each of the "classes."

The number of social strata indicated by the respondents ranged from one (or none) to seven, with no one number being chosen by more than seventeen per cent of the respondents.

A total of 410 persons were named, from one to thirteen times each, as typical constituents of the several categories described. The great majority of the nominees were mentioned only once. Of the thirty persons who were nominated more than once,

sixteen (53 per cent) were placed in the same relative stratum each time. In each of the sixteen cases, this was the uppermost stratum supplied by the respondent.

Twenty-five criteria were given as the basis for class identification, with no one criterion being mentioned more than eleven times. Fourteen persons mentioned factors usually associated with economic status, but thirty-eight did not mention any criterion related to economics. Other criteria frequently named were: church membership (9), education (8), family (6), participation in community affairs (5), and length of residence in the community (5).

Since most of the names of class constituents had been volunteered only once, a second phase of the study was prepared which would present a list of names of families for stratification to an area sample of raters.

The nominees from the first sample were divided into family dwelling groups. All dwelling groups with the same surname who had members with conflicting ratings were discarded. Because of the excessive proportion of high status ratings, all top stratum families who had received only one nomination were eliminated. The resulting list contained the names of forty-nine families. At least one member of each family had been nominated as a typical member of some social stratum, and none of the families had members who had been assigned conflicting statuses. If a clear-cut stratification pattern were conceptualized by the community of Citrus City in general, its elements should be discernible from the assignments of these families to social strata.

Raters were chosen by essentially the same technique as was used for choosing respondents in the first series of interviews. Thirty-five addresses were selected at regularly spaced intervals on the City Engineer's map. The number thirty-five was chosen after the pattern set by Hollingshead, who invited thirty-five persons to act as raters in his study of a community of 6,200.³

From the initial list of thirty-five addresses, twenty-five sets of ratings were

³ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

obtained. The persons who made these ratings had been asked to separate the cards into groups of families with similar "social standing" in Citrus City.

The tabulation of the data posed a problem since the number of strata identified by the raters varied from two to five. The calculation of an arithmetic mean score for each family based on the assumption of regularly-spaced intervals would have been a simple matter, but such a mathematical exercise would have been unrelated to the problem.

The arithmetic mean of assigned scores would be irrelevant on two counts. First, there is no basis for the assumption that strata are regularly spaced. Even if such an assumption were made, there would be no assurance that each rater conceptualized identical extreme poles. For these reasons, it is not likely that the ratings can be thought of as commensurable. Second, the mean rating might be quite distinct from a consensus rating, particularly since raters probably differentiated between subjects on qualitative rather than quantitative bases (a speculation supported by the nature of the criteria listed in the first series of interviews).

Whatever the basis for a rater's opinion of a subject may be, there are no grounds for assuming that his rating must be commensurable with ratings made by any other person.

The rating of each subject by each rater was expressed in terms of a ratio of two incommensurable designators. The denominator of the ratio, expressed as an arabic numeral, indicates the number of strata used by each rater. The numerator, expressed as a letter of the alphabet, indicates the stratum to which each subject has been assigned. Thus a rating of A/5 indicates that a subject has been assigned to the highest stratum designated by a rater who divided all of the subjects into five strata. A rating of C/4 indicates that a subject has been assigned to the third stratum (counting from the top) of a system comprised of four strata.

When all of the ratings of one subject are arranged in the form of a triangular matrix, lines of accumulation (or the lack

of them) may be observed. Such a matrix was prepared for each of the forty-nine families.

The matrices were sorted into five categories: (1) consistent, (2) border, (3) dispersed, (4) controversial, and (5) too few ratings to classify.

A matrix was adjudged consistent when the line of accumulation passed through the highest strata of each system, the lowest strata, or intermediate strata. Where the central tendency of the distribution was clearly evident, a few deviant ratings were allowed. In no case did the number of deviations exceed one-third of the total number of ratings in a matrix adjudged consistent.

Matrices were classified as border when the line of accumulation fell between adjacent strata with more than one-third of the ratings falling into each of the adjacent strata. The border matrices did not necessarily represent families who were socially mobile or whose status was in any way less stable than families with consistent ratings.

Patterns were adjudged dispersed when they contained ratings which were widely distributed among the strata without any discernible central tendency.

Controversial matrices were those containing two distinct lines of accumulation.

Twenty of the matrices were classified as consistent, seven as border, fourteen as dispersed, three as controversial, and five had too few ratings to categorize.

FINDINGS

No generally used verbal reactions by means of which persons were identified with social strata in Citrus City were found. There appear to be no acknowledged uniform criteria for the inclusion of persons within, or their exclusion from, given strata.

There was no generally recognized number of social strata in Citrus City. In the first series of interviews, the number of social strata indicated by respondents ranged from one to seven, with no one number being agreed upon by more than

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seventeen per cent of the respondents. In the second series, where a prepared list of families was separated into strata by the informants, the number of strata ranged from two to five, with no one number being chosen by more than thirty-two per cent of the respondents.

Fifty-five per cent of the families selected for stratification in Citrus City were assigned well defined statuses. These families were consistently placed within closely delimited vertical status ranges by the informants.

A few families in Citrus City had controversial statuses. Six per cent of the subject families were assigned substantial numbers each of high and low ranks without any intermediate ratings. This probably reflected the use of different rating criteria by different informants.

Many families were characterized by such a wide variety of status assignments that no satisfactory conclusion could be drawn about their general statuses in the community. Twenty-nine per cent of the subject families received ratings from the highest through the lowest strata supplied by the respondents, even though they appeared to be fairly well known in Citrus City. On the average, each family in this

group was ranked by forty-two per cent of the informants.⁴

Ten per cent of the subject families received ratings from fewer than fifteen per cent of the informants. These families were not classified.

It may be concluded from this study that either (1) a considerable number of families in Citrus City are not identified with any particular social stratum, or (2) that rigorous social stratification patterns do exist, but are clearly conceptualized only by some special category of community members.

One conclusion of the study is inevitable if the method and its execution are conceded to be sound: *social strata in Citrus City are not rigorously distinguished by the general population.*

⁴ Dispersed matrices may have resulted either from the use of different criteria by the raters or from the inclusion of unreliable raters. Examination of the raw data showed that a range of from nineteen per cent to sixty per cent of the individual informants' ratings fell into dispersed matrices. The average number of ratings per informant falling into such patterns was thirty-two per cent. As an experiment, new matrices were prepared for the families who had dispersed patterns, eliminating the ratings of all informants who had over one-third of their ratings falling into dispersed patterns. Only two of the matrices were changed to consistent. This was interpreted as a confirmation of the reliability of the informants in question.

SELECTIVE ASPECTS OF MIGRATION AMONG MISSOURI HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

C. T. PIHLBLAD AND C. L. GREGORY

University of Missouri

THE selective character of migration has long been a matter of interest to students of population. As pointed out by Dorothy Thomas, however, little is actually known about this problem, and much of the research in the area has been fragmentary, methodologically unsound and inconclusive.¹ Particularly has this been true with respect to the study of intellectual differences between migrants and nonmigrants. In part the limitations of the research have grown out of the failure to repeat studies using different geographical areas or different time periods. It is in the hope of partially correcting these deficiencies that this research has been designed and carried out.

The purpose of the investigation is to test the hypothesis that rural urban migration tends to be disproportionately selective of those with higher test intelligence and proficiency as measured by school achievement. This proposition appeared to be supported by the results of such investigations as those of Gist and Clark in Kansas in 1938,² Mauldin in Tennessee in 1940,³ Gist, Pihlblad and Gregory in Missouri in 1943,⁴ and in Holland by Hofstee in 1952.⁵ Here, we have attempted to repeat the general design of some of these earlier studies but with

somewhat improved techniques and with a more carefully chosen sample. The study has seemed worth while for several reasons. Migration during the past decade has been much more extensive than during the depression period covered in the authors' first study. It is possible that a "prosperity" migration may be quite different from a "depression" migration in its selective nature. Second, we have been able to secure intelligence test scores rather than school marks as a measure of ability. The former probably provide a more clear-cut measure of ability than do the latter and greatly simplify computation problems and comparability of different communities. Third, we have been able to select the sample for study in such a way as to be representative of different areas in the State with widely varying social and economic conditions. Thus it should be possible to relate migration patterns to differing social and cultural conditions.

The data for this study consist of the records of 5011 persons who were members of the senior high school class in 116 Missouri communities during the years 1939-1940 and 1940-1941. The high school lists were supplied by the Director of the Missouri College Aptitude Testing Program who has been carrying on extensive testing programs in more than 400 Missouri communities since 1934-1935.⁶ For each high school senior we obtained the raw scores and centile ranking on the Ohio Psychological Test, together with the centile scholarship ranking based on seven semesters of high school work. Then, with the cooperation of school officials, teachers, and students, we obtained from parents, relatives and friends, or from school records, the following information about each subject: (1) marital status; (2) 1951-1952 community of residence; (3) 1951-1952 occupation; (4) oc-

¹ Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*.

² Noel P. Gist and C. D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938), pp. 36-58.

³ W. Parker Mauldin, "Selective Migration from Small Towns," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (October, 1940), pp. 748-758.

⁴ Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Rural Migrations," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (March, 1941), pp. 3-15; and Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, *Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation*, University of Missouri Studies, XVIII, No. 2.

⁵ E. W. Hofstee, "Some Remarks on Selective Migration," *Publications of the Research Group For European Migration Problems*, The Hague, 1952.

⁶ W. R. Carter, "The Missouri College Aptitude Testing Program," *University of Missouri Bulletin*, Educational Series, No. 40, October 20, 1951.

cupation of husbands of married female subjects; (5) occupation of father; (6) farm or nonfarm residence while in school; (7) farm tenure status of parents occupied in farming; (8) formal education beyond high school; (9) membership in the armed forces during World War II. Information concerning current residence and occupation was obtained for about four fifths of all subjects. The data were obtained largely through correspondence with school officials making use of a simple schedule. About 20 per cent of the schedules were secured by a field worker, and if sufficient resources had been available to have used field workers to secure all the information our reports would probably have been more complete.

In order to verify the reliability of residential and occupational information a second series of duplicate schedules was sent out for 381 persons selected at random (about 7 per cent of the sample). These schedules were completed by informants different from those who supplied the original information. About 50 per cent of this check sample was returned. A comparison of the two sets of cards indicates that there may have been changes as high as 7 per cent in residential information. In many of these cases the discrepancies were due to actual change in residence. After allowing for these changes it seems probable that discrepancies actually making a change in classification were less than five per cent. Changes in other items were of smaller magnitude than those in residence categories. The check seems to justify a considerable degree of confidence in the reliability of the information.

Before proceeding with a statement of the results two limitations of the materials should be made explicit. First, our measure of ability or competence is the raw score on the Ohio Psychological Test. It goes without saying that we are making no assumption that the test score is a measure of genetic qualities or innate intelligence uninfluenced by learning opportunity, training, motivation or a host of other factors. All that one can say is that the score correlates highly with school marks and is predictive of college success.

Second, our subjects probably represent a somewhat selected sample of all the young

people of a community, containing a disproportionate share of those who show aptitudes for school tasks and possessing the kinds of abilities necessary for success both in school achievement and in test intelligence. It may be that the pattern of migration would be quite different among those who for one reason or another drop out of school at lower levels and do not reach the senior high school class. Our study then concentrates attention on the migration of an already selected sample.

The 116 communities selected for study were chosen to be representative of the major socio-economic areas of the State as defined and described by C. E. Lively and Cecil Gregory.⁷ Nearly all the communities were located in core counties of the areas. The communities included were for the most part, small towns and villages, varying in size from open country consolidated schools to one town with a population over 10,000. More than one third of the sample attended high school in towns with populations less than 1,000, about 40 per cent in towns between 1,000 and 2500, and one fourth in towns larger than 2500. Our subjects, then, were predominantly a farm, village and small town group.

EXTENT OF MIGRATION

Before proceeding to a consideration of the selective implication of migration we need to note briefly the extent of movement, both in the group as a whole and in different sections of the State. For purposes of classification we have followed the Census Bureau's definition of a migrant as one residing at a later date in a county different from that of his residence at an earlier date. The migrants in our group will be those residing in 1951-1952 in a county different from the one in which they attended school in 1939 and 1940. Persons living at the same address or in the same county, but at a different address, will be treated as nonmigrants.

Approximately three fifths of the former high school seniors were migrants, that is, they no longer resided in their home county: 61 per cent of the males and 63 per cent

⁷ C. E. Lively and C. L. Gregory, *Rural Social Areas in Missouri*, University of Missouri, Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 414, April 1948.

of the females. In most of the State, females tended to be slightly more migratory than males. In the Ozark section, males were considerably more migratory than females although the number of cases in this area was too small to lend much reliability to the difference. Variations in the proportion of migrants from different sections do not appear to be important in this study, although considerable range in population loss is apparent from the 1950 census.

It is possible that the residential data understate the extent of migration in our sample. This arises from the exclusion of 697 cases for whom 1952 residential data were unavailable and 218 cases reported as in the armed services in 1952. Probably a large proportion of the "no report" group could safely be placed in the "migrant" category on the assumption that if they were still resident in the neighborhood their whereabouts would have been known to our informants.⁸ If those for whom no residential information was reported, and also those reported as in the armed services, were to be considered as migrants the proportion of migrants would be increased to something more than two-thirds, about 65 per cent among males and near 70 per cent among the females. However it should be added that the "no report" group was a good sample of the total number of cases with respect to their known characteristics such as distribution between areas and in test scores. It appears that their exclusion would not have distorted the results materially. The exclusion of the "armed service" group tended somewhat to minimize the differences between migrants and nonmigrants with respect to test intelligence since those in the armed services were a definitely superior group of individuals.

DIFFERENCES IN TEST SCORES BY SEX AND AREA OF ORIGIN

As a group, the female subjects were significantly superior in test intelligence to the males. These differences are of such

⁸ Many of our cases were reported as: "address unknown, no longer in the community." A larger number of our informants also specifically stated that cases for which residential information was not available were no longer residents in the community.

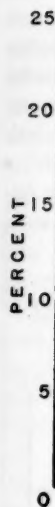
magnitude as to make necessary separate treatment of each sex group if the sex difference is not to obscure other group differences.⁹

Examination of Figure 1 brings out the differences. The mean Ohio score of females was 54 as compared with 49 for males. In each of the four lowest class intervals the proportion of males exceeded the proportion of females, while in the seven highest class intervals the proportion of girls was higher than the proportion of boys. If the sex groups are divided into three broad classes: a low group with scores less than 30, a medium group scoring between 30 and 59, and a high group with scores above 60, we find that less than one-fourth (23 per cent) of the males as compared with one-third (32.1 per cent) of the females scored in the high group above 60. On the other hand only 10 per cent of the females as compared with 14 per cent of the males were in the low group with scores below 30.

As mentioned earlier the persons included in our study were selected to represent the major socio-economic areas of the State, and were largely residents of farms and small towns under 2,500 in population.¹⁰ With three exceptions, no significant differences appear in mean test scores for different areas. The principal exception is found in an area surrounding St. Louis. Mean scores for both sexes in this area were distinctly superior to those for any other area. The mean score for males was 16 per cent and for females 10 per cent above the group average. The high scores here correspond again to the results obtained in the statewide testing program and are probably attributable to the relative superiority of school systems in this region. In the eastern Ozark region of the

⁹ Statistical tests of significance indicate that the differences would not be expected in a chance situation. The sex difference coincides with the findings of Gist, Pihlblad and Gregory using school marks as a criterion. *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-25. The Director of the College Aptitude Testing Program in Missouri reports the same differences and attributes them to the dominantly verbal nature of the test on which girls seem to do better than boys.

¹⁰ On the basis of a statement of W. R. Carter, Director of the College Aptitude Testing Program, the norms of our group correspond closely to the State norms established in this program for rural high school seniors.



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TABLE 1.
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Size of Community
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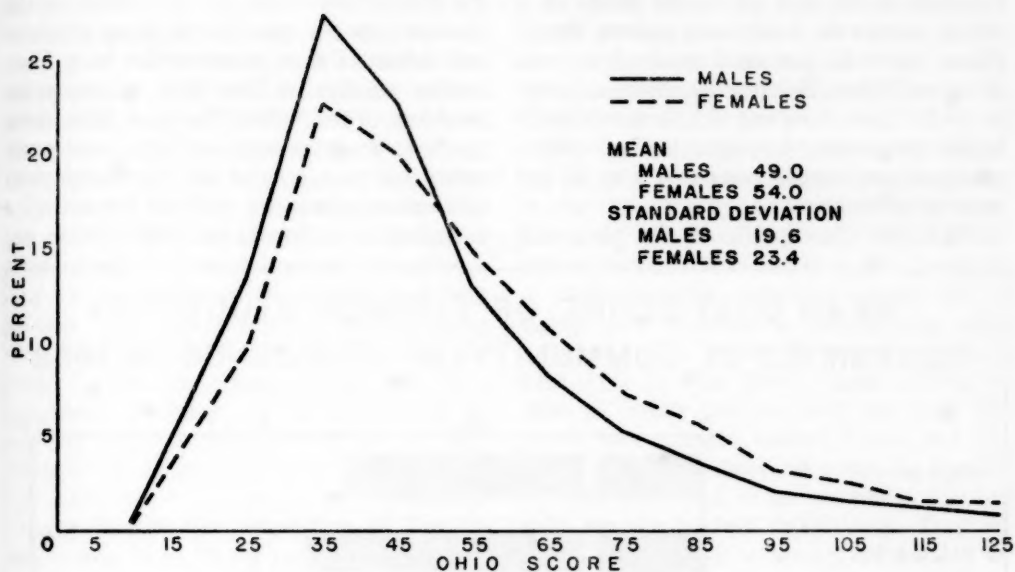


FIGURE 1

State, there is an apparent superiority of the male group, a characteristic not shown by the females in this area. For both sexes the lowest mean score was found in the western Ozark Area. The considerable num-

ber of cases in this region, and the consistency for both sexes of this deviation, probably justifies the belief that this was an inferior group.

The differences in test performance be-

TABLE 1. MEAN OHIO SCORE OF FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1952 AND SEX, WITH RATIO OF THE MEAN SCORE TO THE AVERAGE OF THE ENTIRE SEX GROUP *

Size of Community	Male			Female		
	Total	Mean	Ratio	Total	Mean	Ratio
Total	1764**	48.0	100.0	1884	53.7	100.0
Total Rural	825	45.3	94.4	834	52.0	96.8
farm	185	45.2	94.2	166	51.0	95.0
non-farm	640	45.3	94.4	668	52.2	97.2
Total Urban	939	50.5	105.2	1050	55.0	102.4
I cities:						
2500-10,000	250	47.6	99.2	263	53.6	99.8
II cities:						
10,000-100,000	307	50.4	105.0	337	54.7	101.9
III cities:						
100,000 and over	382	52.4	109.2	450	56.0	104.3

* For males critical ratios indicate significant differences at the 5 per cent level between the mean scores of persons residing in cities of class II and III and all smaller residence categories. For example, CRs between means of males residing in cities of class II and the farm and village groups are 2.85 and 3.75 respectively. Between the mean for class III cities and those for farm, non-farm and class II cities the CRs are respectively, 3.68, 4.61 and 2.53. For females differences are smaller and significant only between class III cities and the two rural residence classes, farm and non-farm. Values are 2.49 and 2.64 respectively.

** Does not include 1363 persons who were in the Armed Services, or for whom data on size of community were not reported.

tween areas show up clearly when the subjects are divided into low, medium and high groups. While 23 per cent of the males achieved scores over 60 in the group as a whole, in the St. Louis and eastern Ozark Areas about 35 per cent attained a score of 60 or higher. For females, however, only in the St. Louis Area was there a significantly higher proportion of females in the superior group, 41 per cent as compared with 33 per cent for all females.

With this description of the plan and

dence data were available, classified by type of community of residence in 1951-52. In making the classification we have followed the distinctions drawn by the Bureau of the Census between rural farm, rural nonfarm and urban. Urban communities have been further subdivided into three subcategories as shown in the Table. The mean Ohio score is shown for each residence class and separately for each sex. In the third and sixth columns are shown the ratios of the mean for each residence class to the mean for the en-

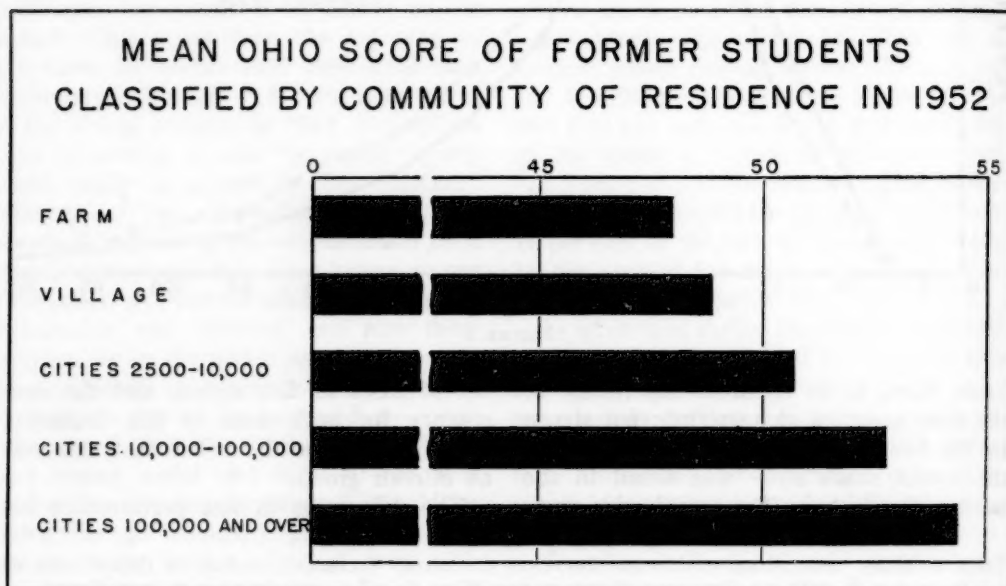


FIGURE 2

sample of the study we proceed to the central problem of the investigation: is migration from rural to urban communities selective with respect to intelligence? The two features of the problem with which we concern ourselves here can be stated in the form of two hypotheses: (1) *Test intelligence tends to increase with the size of the community in which the subjects presently (1951-1952) reside.* (2) *Test intelligence tends to increase with the distance migrated between community of school attendance in 1939 to 1940 to community of residence in 1951-1952.* We shall turn our attention then, to the first hypothesis.

TEST INTELLIGENCE AND COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1951-1952

In Table 1 we have tabulated the mean Ohio score for 3,648 subjects for whom resi-

dent sex group. Figure 2 depicts the results graphically.

The data seem to show consistent differences between the rural and the urban group. For both sexes the mean for the rural group is below that for the total group. For the males, the mean for the urban group exceeds the rural mean by 5.2 points. For the females the difference is less, 2.3 points. For males, the scores for the farm and nonfarm groups are almost identical. In the female group there is a difference of 1.2 points.

Within the three urban categories there is a tendency for the mean score to rise with the size of city. In the male group the difference is 4.8 points between cities of class I and III. For the female group the differences are smaller, 2.4 points between largest and smallest cities. The consistency of the increase in mean score with size of com-

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munity holds true for both sexes. The differences are somewhat greater and more consistent than those found in our earlier study.¹¹

The superiority of the urban over the rural groups is shown also if we divide our subjects into high, medium and low groups with score intervals 0-29, 30-59, and over 60 respectively. For rural males 18 per cent were in the low and high classes. For urban males corresponding percentages were 12 per cent in the low and 28 per cent in the high group. For rural females 12 per cent and 28 per cent were in the low and high groups. For urban females corresponding percentages were 10 per cent and 35 per cent. Within the urban group there is a consistent tendency for the proportion of superior males to increase with size of city, from 22 to 23 to 28 per cent respectively for each of the three urban subclasses. Among females the proportion of the superior rises from 33 per cent in the smallest cities to 36 per cent in cities over 100,000.

One additional factor complicates the analysis of the relationship between test intelligence and the size of community in which our subjects resided in 1951-52. Not all of the differences shown in Table 3 are due to migration. This observation rises out of the fact that some residential differences in test intelligence existed before migration or at the time when our subjects attended school. That is, the average performance of students who attended school in towns with populations less than 2500 was somewhat lower than that of students in larger communities. Also approximately 55 per cent of the subjects, for whom information could be obtained, resided on farms while attending school, and as a group the farm students performed less well on the Ohio Test than did the village and town group. The mean score for the farm children was 49.2 as compared with 54.1 for the nonfarm group. For both sexes the differences between the farm and nonfarm groups were around six points. Hence a part of the superiority of those residing in 1951-52 in cities of class I and to a lesser degree those in class

II,¹² over farm and village residents was due to somewhat higher scores of nonmigrants in the urban groups.

In order to measure the influence of this factor we have tabulated the mean scores for migrants and nonmigrants separately by sex and residence category.¹³ The results are shown in Table 2.

The two sexes present a somewhat different pattern. For males, migrants are superior to nonmigrants only in the two urban classes. Farm and village migrants and nonmigrants are essentially alike. In the urban group as a whole, however, migrants appear to be significantly superior to nonmigrants, with a score of 51.2 for the former as compared with 47.0 for the latter. These differences seem to justify the inference that both the youth who migrate toward farms and villages, as well as those who remain in such communities, tend to be somewhat inferior with respect to test intelligence. That is, rural regions tend to attract as well as to retain those with inferior or average test intelligence. On the other hand, urban communities turn out boys with somewhat superior average test scores and at the same time attract from rural communities those with higher average scores.

For females, the situation is somewhat different. Migrants are consistently superior to nonmigrants in every residence category. Both the girls moving to farms and villages and those moving to larger cities averaged higher than did those who remained at home. It is also important to note that girls who migrated toward farm and village averaged as high as those who moved toward small cities. (Scores for the total rural and urban groups were almost identical.) Since, however, only a relatively few of the migrating females moved toward farms and villages as compared with the larger number of those who moved to cities, the net effect of migration was to lower average test intelligence in farms and villages and to raise it in the cities.

¹² Only one city with a population of more than 10,000 and with 155 cases was included in our sample.

¹³ Consistent with the definition of the Census Bureau we have defined migrants as those living in 1951-52 in communities outside the county in which they attended school.

¹¹ Gist, Pihlblad and Gregory, *Selective Factors in Occupation and Migration*, p. 35.

We may conclude then, that the evidence seems to support the first hypothesis, namely that test intelligence shows a tendency to increase with size of community in which our subjects currently reside. The differences between the rural and urban categories are distinct and statistically significant. We will leave the discussion of the implications of these findings for our concluding paragraphs.

TEST INTELLIGENCE AND RANGE OF MIGRATION

We may now turn to a consideration of the second proposition: that test intelli-

in an adjoining county; (4) residents of other counties in Missouri; (5) those residing in states adjoining Missouri; (6) residents of other states. Persons currently in the armed services and those residing in foreign countries were excluded.

This method of classification is not entirely satisfactory. It tells nothing about the number of moves between the date of school attendance and the date of report. In a few cases, persons attended school in a county different from that of their residence and hence might be counted as migrants even though still living in the same

TABLE 2. MEAN OHIO SCORES OF FORMER STUDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SIZE OF COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1952 AND MIGRATION STATUS *

Size of Community	Male				Female			
	Migrant		Nonmigrant		Migrant		Nonmigrant	
	Number	Mean	Number	Mean	Number	Mean	Number	Mean
Total Rural and Urban	938**	49.8	776**	45.8	1099**	55.7	785**	50.8
Total Rural	222	44.8	610	45.5	239	55.6	599	50.5
farm	53	45.4	130	45.2	68	54.9	95	47.6
village	169	44.6	480	45.6	171	55.9	504	51.1
Total Urban	766	51.2	166	47.0	860	55.8	186	51.6
cities I	108	48.6	135	46.8	100	55.5	159	52.5
cities II	276	50.6	31	47.9	310	55.5	27	46.1
cities III	382	52.4			450	56.0		

* For the total groups significant differences at the 5 per cent level were secured between migrants and nonmigrants for both the male and female categories. The critical ratios were 4.47 and 4.99 respectively. Comparisons between migrants and nonmigrants for specific residence groups gave significant differences only for females residing in villages and in places of 10,000 to 100,000. The critical ratios for these were 2.41 and 2.23 respectively. The critical ratio between females remaining on farms and moving to farms was 1.87. In a chance situation this ratio would be expected in about 6 per cent of the samples.

** Does not include 1363 persons who were in the Armed Services or for whom data on migration and size of community were not reported.

gence increases with distance of migration. As a device for measuring distance of migration we have used a classification scheme similar to that employed by the Bureau of the Census in its studies on internal migration.¹⁴ The classification uses a series of concentric political subdivisions. All subjects for whom residential data could be obtained were divided into the following categories: (1) those residing at the same address as that of school attendance in 1940 and 1941; (2) those residing at a different address but in the same county; (3) those

house as the one lived in at time of school attendance. Two or three cases were identified of students who actually lived in neighboring states but attended schools just over the line in Missouri. These would be classified as inter-state migrants, although they were not really migrants at all. In a few cases, probably, there were those who now reside across a state line from their original residence, but who have actually moved shorter distances than those moving to other counties in Missouri. These are minor limitations, however, which probably do not materially affect the validity of the distance data. In general the distance continuum is probably represented fairly by the classification scheme adopted. Consistent

¹⁴ Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States, April 1940 to 1947*, April 15, 1948, Series P-20, No. 14.

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TABLE 3.

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with the Census Bureau definition of a migrant we have considered all persons moving beyond the boundaries of their county of residence while in school as migrants.

The distribution of our subjects by range categories was as follows. Approximately a third of the subjects were still residing in the communities in which they attended school. Another tenth had moved to some other community in the county. This makes two-fifths whom we may consider as non-migrants. A tenth had moved a short distance to an adjoining county. A fifth were to be found residing in another Missouri county. These were largely migrants who

For both sexes those who had remained at the same address, the nonmovers, showed a somewhat higher mean than did those who moved within the county or to the next county, the short distance movers. This is true for both boys and girls. For males the short distance movers, both those who moved within the county and to the next county, were alike. For females a slight superiority shows for those moving to the adjoining county over those moving within the same county.

The last three categories might be termed the "long distance movers." All three of these groups among both males and females

TABLE 3. MEAN OHIO SCORE OF FORMER STUDENTS ACCORDING TO RANGE OF MIGRATION AND SEX WITH RATIO OF MEAN SCORE TO THE AVERAGE FOR THE ENTIRE SEX GROUPS *

Range of Migration	Male			Female		
	Total	Mean	Ratio	Total	Mean	Ratio
Total	1870**	48.3	100.0	2041	53.7	100.0
(1) Same address	610	46.3	95.9	576	51.1	95.2
(2) Same county (other community)	167	44.1	91.3	215	49.5	92.2
(3) Adjoining county	189	44.4	91.9	205	51.4	95.7
(4) Other county in Missouri	392	50.9	105.4	435	55.5	103.4
(5) Adjoining state	224	50.0	103.5	267	56.7	105.6
(6) Other state	288	52.4	108.5	343	57.3	106.7

* For both sexes critical ratios indicate significant differences at the 5 per cent level only between range groups (1), (2) and (3) on the one hand and (4), (5) and (6) on the other. The first three groups do not differ significantly from one another, nor are there any important differences between the last three groups.

** Does not include 1100 persons who were in the armed services, or civilians living in foreign countries, or for whom data on range of migration were not reported.

had moved to one of Missouri's larger cities. More than one-fourth had moved to an adjoining state or to states still more remote. The two sexes showed no differences in their distribution between each of the distance classes.

Table 3 shows the mean Ohio test score for each range-of-migration class separately for each sex. Shown also is the ratio between the mean score for each range class and the mean for the entire sex group. For both sex groups, the differences which attract attention lie between the first three classes and the last three. The latter, those who had moved as far away as another county in the State, to adjoining states, or to other states, were definitely and significantly superior to those who had not moved at all, or those who had moved only short distances.

exhibited mean scores above the average for the total group with ratios above 100. Those who migrated the longest distance, to states beyond those adjoining Missouri, had the highest mean scores in both sex groups. For males, the mean score was significantly higher than for any other range class. For females the difference was of lesser magnitude. Examination of the ratios of the means for each range class to the mean for the entire sex group appears to be convincing evidence that the differences are real. For males, the variation between the low mean score in class (2) and the high score in class (6) was 17 per cent. For females the variation between the same two classes was about 15 per cent. For both sexes the lowest relative scores were in class (2) and the highest in class (6). Differences in mean

score for each range category are shown graphically in Figure 3.

The relationship between test scores and distance of migration is also evident when subjects are divided into high, medium and low classes, as explained earlier. For both sexes the proportion of superior individuals, those with scores above 60, was definitely larger in the last three migration classes moving the longest distances, than was the

the distance of migration from point of origin, conform rather closely to the results of our earlier investigation of the relationship between school achievement and these same migration factors.¹⁶ While in this study we have employed test scores rather than school marks, it seems probable that the two indices measure substantially those qualities and abilities which make for success in school and are highly correlated.

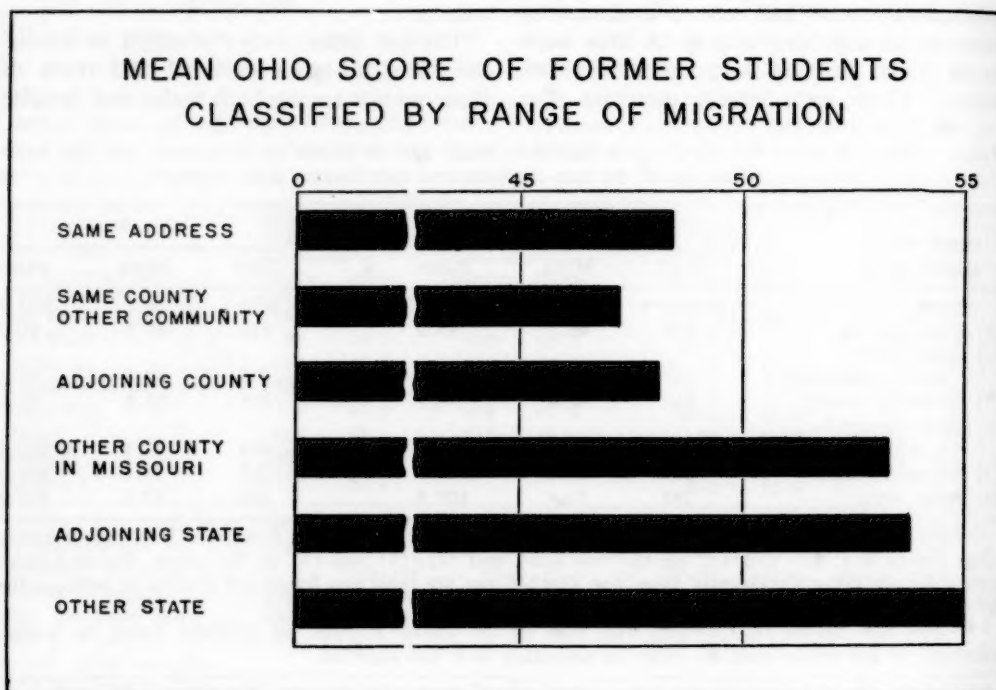


FIGURE 3

proportion of superiors to be found among the short distance movers or the "stay at homes." The nonmovers showed a somewhat larger proportion in the high group than was found among the short distance migrants. The difference was not large, however, and of doubtful significance statistically. The proportion of individuals in the *low* group (0-29) was largest in the first three distance classes and least in the last three classes.

Our results, then, seem to substantiate the second hypothesis; that test intelligence among our subjects tends to increase with distance migrated. The results, both of the analysis of the relationship between test intelligence and the size of community in which our subjects now reside, as well as

Taken together, test score and centile ranking in high school are highly predictive of success in college. In this study differences between groups have been a little more clear-cut, somewhat wider and a little more consistent than in the earlier investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this investigation support the following conclusions:

(1) At least three-fifths and probably two-thirds of Missouri high school seniors, graduating in 1939 and 1940, resided in

¹⁶ N. P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Rural Migration," *Rural Sociology*, 6 (March, 1941), pp. 3-15.

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1951-1952 in a county different from that of their residence while in school.

(2) The proportion of migrants was approximately the same for both sexes.

(3) No significant differences in the extent of migration appear between different social and economic areas of the state.

(4) Subjects originating in the area around St. Louis and in the Ozark areas seemed to differ significantly in mean test intelligence from the group as a whole. The mean scores for both boys and girls in the St. Louis Area were superior to the group means. Boys in the eastern Ozark Area averaged above the mean for all boys. For both sexes, mean scores were lowest in the western Ozark Area.

(5) Mean test scores were consistently higher for females than for males in the sample as a whole and in all areas except the eastern Ozark Area.

(6) *There is a consistent tendency for mean test scores to increase with the size of community in which subjects resided at time of report (1952).*

(7) *There is a consistent tendency for mean test scores to increase with the distance of migration from point of origin.*

Comment concerning the interpretation and significance of our results finally needs to be made. In general, they agree with those of other investigations in supporting the hypothesis that migration of rural youth toward urban areas tends to be selective of the more intelligent and of those with superior school aptitudes. This tendency appears consistently in different areas and in different segments of the business cycle, in prosperity as well as in the depression decade covered in our earlier investigations.¹⁷

It should be kept in mind, however, that all of our subjects were high school seniors and represent, therefore, a selected group. None of those who dropped out of school before attaining the 12th grade were included. If we may assume that low ability is one of the factors accounting for early termination of school career, and if migration tends to be relatively excessive among those who early drop out of school, then the losses due to migration of the less capable may compensate or exceed the losses of

the more intelligent among high school graduates. Ideally, therefore, a study of this kind should seek to obtain its measure of ability much earlier than the 12th grade. This, however, is difficult to do in the absence of uniform testing programs earlier in the school career. Such evidence as we have, however, seems to indicate that outward migration increases with formal education as well as educability.

If it may be granted, as the results of the study seem to indicate, that migrants as a group are superior in test intelligence to nonmigrants, how shall these differences be explained? As pointed out by Hofstee, the explanation probably does not lie in any "natural" tendency toward migratoriness among the more intelligent.¹⁸ The explanation undoubtedly does lie in the search for economic opportunities outside the home community. Persons with superior intelligence and scholastic aptitude must necessarily seek opportunities for its development in educational institutions to be found largely outside their home communities. Communities with limited educational facilities will tend to lose youth with superior intellect to communities better supplied with such resources. At the same time, youth with superior ability and educational achievement, will probably be disproportionately attracted toward professional, business and clerical pursuits. In general, opportunities in these fields are more abundant in larger towns and cities than in the villages and small towns from which most of our subjects came. Probably, not only the amount of migration, as Stouffer and others have pointed out, but its characteristics as well, are a function of economic opportunity. Empirical investigation has already shown that those with superior high school records tend to be attracted disproportionately to the professions and other white collar jobs.¹⁹ In a later paper we hope to present an analysis of intelligence, migration and occupational data which will throw further light on this question.

Finally, what can we conclude concerning

¹⁸ E. W. Hofstee, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁹ Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Scholastic Achievement and Occupation," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (December, 1942), pp. 752-763.

¹⁷ See footnote 4.

the effects of the selective process both on the communities of out migration as well as those toward which migrants are moving? Much has been written concerning the qualitative effects on the population of the selective process. It would take us too far afield to enter into this argument here. So little is known about the biological basis of the criteria in terms of which we measure selection, or about the nature of the selective process, that no definitive conclusions are justified.

But, entirely apart from the possible genetic implications, the tendency of rural-urban migration to be selective of the brighter and intellectually more competent among young people can hardly fail to have considerable sociological significance both for the communities from which migrants come as well as those toward which they move. In a democracy we do rely on schools and formal education to train the young toward intelligent participation in the democratic process. Skill and proficiency in the techniques of communication are essentials toward this end. Ordinarily we do assume that intelligence, even as measured by tests, as well as school aptitudes have some rela-

tionship to the ability to make competent judgments as to local and national affairs. If these assumptions are correct, our evidence points to the conclusion that rural communities may be deficient in such abilities. Conversely, urban communities should be gaining more than their share of people capable of the high order of abstract thinking for which our complex and difficult problems call.

The results of the study would also seem to have some bearing on certain practical problems of educational policy. If two-thirds of all the youth reared in rural areas eventually seek their occupation and residence outside the community of their school attendance, should it not be a matter of concern to the urban areas to contribute toward the improvement of educational facilities in the rural areas? Is it equitable that the entire cost of educating rural youth should fall on the local community when so large a proportion of them will contribute to the wealth of the larger towns in which they will eventually settle? State aid to local communities and Federal aid to states, looking toward the equalization of educational opportunity, would seem to be the answer.

EXPERIMENTAL MEASUREMENT OF CLOTHING AS A FACTOR IN SOME SOCIAL RATINGS OF SELECTED AMERICAN MEN *

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THE experiments described in this paper were designed to demonstrate the extent to which types of clothing may affect the status ratings of men in certain social situations. From a theoretical point of view, such research is potentially important because, as Cooley pointed out long ago,¹ most human interaction is structured in terms of the judgments people make of one another. But upon what basis are these

judgments made? What are the symbols by means of which group members recognize one another? In attempts to answer these crucial questions, a number of symbols which apparently function in the social rating process have been the subject of sociological investigation.

Dollard, for example, has pointed out that certain types of alcoholic drinks are important to some groups as symbols of their status.² Other status symbols which have been investigated include sex be-

* Grateful acknowledgement is made to Professor Gregory Stone, Michigan State College, for his help in gathering the data for this study.

¹ Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922, pp. 164ff.

² John Dollard, "Drinking Mores of the Social Classes," in *Alcohol, Science and Society*, New Haven: Yale University Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 1945, pp. 95-104.

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havior,³ burial practices,⁴ family ritual,⁵ and mate selection.⁶ Expressions of each of these forms of behavior vary in importance to different status groups and may be signs indicating group membership. Thus, at funeral services, family position in the social hierarchy is indicated by the fact that among those low in status, burial services must be emotional, while those high in status eschew emotion at such a time.⁷ Living on a certain street, or belonging to a closed group such as the First Families of Virginia, assume tremendous importance to some people while to others these patterns of living may be a joke.⁸

Although the forms of behavior mentioned have been subjected to scientific study, there has been little if any attention paid to clothing—male clothing in particular—as a symbol of status. The potential importance of clothing as such a symbol has been suggested by Young.⁹ He points out that when there are no fixed symbols to mark the social elite in a stratified society, external features of life, such as clothes, are often used for this purpose. Popular acceptance of this belief is indicated by the cliché, “clothes make the man,” and by the results of several government surveys. When a large sample of men were asked, What are the most important things to look for when buying a summer sport shirt?, style was spontaneously mentioned most often by all three income groups delineated in the study.¹⁰

Comfort and size were mentioned far less often than style. In a survey dealing with purchasers of sport coats, fifty-two per cent of the men queried said attractiveness and prestige were their reasons for buying such jackets; only twelve per cent mentioned economy.¹¹

Thus, there is both popular and professional conviction that clothing can function as an important classificatory symbol in the social process of status rating. At the same time, this possible function of clothing is taken so much for granted that there is a scarcity of empirical data available to justify scientific generalization on the subject, especially where men are concerned. This situation was the motivating force behind the experiments described below.

EXPERIMENT I

Procedure. After a suitable pre-test, the cooperation of thirteen men known to forty-six student judges was obtained.¹² The thirteen men were similar in age, race and marital status.¹³ Holding numbered identification cards, these men stood before the judges on two occasions. The first time, the men wore clothing chosen without forethought of the test in mind. On cards provided for the purpose, the men were rated by the judges in terms of the following factors: best looking, man I'd most like to date (or double date with), man I'd like to have as my class president, has the best personality, is the most likely to succeed after college, and is the most intelligent. These phrases were defined informally so that the judges were believed to be in substantial agreement on their meaning. The total ratings received by the men were then computed.¹⁴ In confidential

³ Alfred Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948, Chapter 10.

⁴ William M. Kephart, “Status After Death,” *American Sociological Review*, 15 (October, 1950), pp. 635–643.

⁵ James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, “Ritual in Family Living,” *American Sociological Review*, 14 (August, 1949), pp. 466–467.

⁶ August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, pp. 432–434.

⁷ Kephart, *op cit.*, p. 641.

⁸ Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1947, p. 188.

⁹ Kimball Young, *Social Psychology*, 2nd Edition, New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1947, pp. 419–420.

¹⁰ *Men's Preferences Among Selected Clothing Items*, Miscellaneous Publication 706, Washington:

U. S. Department of Agriculture, December, 1949, Table 16, p. 68.

¹¹ *Men's Preferences Among Wool Suits, Coats and Jackets*, Preliminary Summary Report, Washington: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1950, p. 5 and Table 19.

¹² All participants were members of a large principles of sociology class.

¹³ All were 18–23 years old, Caucasian, and single.

¹⁴ The judges were asked to list, in order from first to last choice, only the first four men they would choose for each of the categories; the pre-

interviews, the four men rated lowest were asked to "dress up" for the second test, while the four rated highest were asked to wear inconspicuous old clothing for the second test. As a control group, the five men who received average ratings were asked to dress for the second test exactly as they had dressed for the first.

Two weeks after the first test, the men—dressed as planned—were again rated by the forty-six judges in terms of the same categories as before. In an effort to allay suspicion, the judges were told that a second rating was necessary because so many had misunderstood directions the first time.

Findings. When the final ratings were computed, the men judged were divided into three basic groupings: Group I, the men who dressed up for the second test; Group II, those who "dressed down" for the second test; and Group III, the controls who dressed the same for both tests. Combining all categories in terms of which the men were rated, the raw scores obtained by the three groups on the two tests were as follows—First Test: Group I, 551; II, 1,249; III, 907. Second Test: Group I, 570; II, 1,293; III, 890. Chi square analysis revealed that no real changes occurred in the ratings given the men on the second test when compared with the first. Thus, the clothing changes which were made were not associated with any changes in social ratings, as might be expected if clothing actually does "make the man."

It is possible that the negative results obtained in this experiment were due to recall on the part of the judges, but it is almost certain that the results were not due to the possibility that the clothing outfits did not change sufficiently for the second test. This latter possibility was ruled out after the clothing outfits were rated by an independent group of twenty-six judges. To save space, the results of

test had revealed that it would be confusing to list more than four. The answers were scored arbitrarily by assigning a four to a first choice, three to a second, and so on. (See George A. Lundberg, *Social Research*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942, pp. 297-300, for evidence that arbitrary scoring of this nature is highly correlated with more technical methods of establishing equidistant intervals.)

the clothing ratings will not be given in detail. In essence, they indicated that the clothing changes, where made, were very noticeable. The clothing outfits of those who wore good clothes for the second test were rated significantly higher than were the outfits of the same men worn for the first test. The opposite occurred for the men who wore old clothing for the second test. The clothing of the control group of five men was judged about the same each time.

In a final attempt to ascertain why the first and second test ratings worked out as they did, the judges were asked to express their degree of social closeness with each of the thirteen men judged. This was done by having the judges indicate which one of five statements (arranged from most to least—for degree of social closeness expressed—as they were arranged by a panel of three independent judges) best expressed their degree of friendship with each of the thirteen men.¹⁵ Again to save space, the detailed results of this procedure will not be discussed. The results indicated a fairly high degree of correlation ($+ .67 \pm .11$)¹⁶ between the rank of a man on his social ratings and his rank on social closeness with the raters.

Thus, to the degree that this experiment tested what it was meant to test, it indicated that the college student judges were not affected by clothing types when they judged college men they knew on items such as best looking, would like to date, and so on. If anything was associated with the ratings, it would appear to have been—as far as this test goes—the degree of social closeness of the men judged with those doing the judging.

EXPERIMENT II

Procedure. In this experiment, the pictures of men unknown to 254 student judges at two colleges¹⁷ were rated during

¹⁵ The statements, arranged from "most" to "least" were: 1. Is a very good friend of mine; 2. Is a good acquaintance of mine; 3. Know fairly well; 4. Know to speak to; 5. Know hardly at all. These were scored arbitrarily.

¹⁶ All correlations calculated with Spearman's formula for establishing correlation of ranked data.

¹⁷ Michigan State College and Indiana Central College.

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¹⁸ G. A. Lundberg, *Psychological*, 1937, Chap. 1.

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two tests in terms of categories chosen by fifty of the judges (categories chosen in a pre-test). Because the categories decided upon were very subjective, the results obtained for one only ("attractiveness") will be discussed here, although it should be noted that the results obtained for all were substantially the same. The category "attractiveness" is singled out because attractiveness can, to some extent, be judged from pictures. Further, as the Murphys have observed, it is concern with personal attractiveness which plays one of the most significant roles in intrapersonal psychological conflict;¹⁸ this is true because it is commonly believed that social success is in large part a consequence of the judgments others make of one's personal appearance.

For the first test in the second experiment, on an appropriate questionnaire supplied for the purpose, all judges rated pictures of the heads of ten college-age men. Each judge had his own copy of the ten pictures, which were arranged as a single composite photograph. After the first test, the judges were divided randomly into two experimental and two control groups (one each at the two colleges). It was determined that the ratings made by the control and experimental groups at each college were substantially the same for the first test,¹⁹ indicating that future comparisons between the control and experimental groups would be justifiable.

For the second test, one month after the first, the control groups were asked to rate the same pictures used for the first test. The pictures used by the experimental groups, however, were altered for the second test. The alterations were accomplished in the following manner: After the first test, the ratings made on attractiveness by members of the experimental groups were computed. The men rated were then ranked from first to last according to the scores accorded them. The head ranked first was then superimposed in the proper position on a body clothed in an outfit that had been

ranked last of ten outfits.²⁰ The head ranked second was combined with the clothing ranked next to the lowest, and so on. The resulting combinations were numbered and placed on a card in the same relative positions the heads had had on the picture used for the first test. The new arrangement was photographed and reproduced in sufficient numbers to give one copy to each member of the experimental groups for the second test. As controls, the same body in the same position was photographed to produce the various outfit pictures, and the pictures given to the control and experimental groups for the second test had heads of the same size. Thus, so far as is known, the only major variable introduced to the experimental groups was the different ranking clothing outfits.²¹ Before the final results were computed, the control and experimental groups at each college were matched by frequency distribution on six items: sex, age, race, family income, type of area in which the respondent grew up, and father's occupation. This process reduced the experimental and control groups at Indiana Central College to sixty-nine individuals each; at Michigan State, the final groups contained twenty-two cases each.

Findings. Both control groups rated the pictures for the second test almost exactly as they had rated them for the first. At Indiana Central College, the correlation between the first and second ratings of the control group is expressed by the figure $+ .98 \pm .01$; at Michigan State, the correlation was $+ .94 \pm .03$. In contrast, both experimental groups (which had been matched—it should be recalled—with their respective control groups on six important variables) changed their ratings considerably on the second test as compared with the first. The change is illustrated by the fact that at Indiana Central College, the correlation between the first and second ratings of the experimental group was $-.14$; at Michigan State, the correlation between the two ratings made by the ex-

¹⁸ G. and L. B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937, Chap. 6.

¹⁹ Correlation between the ratings of the experimental and control groups at Indiana Central College on this test was $+ .93 \pm .03$; at Michigan State, $+ .95 \pm .02$.

²⁰ Outfits ranked on "appropriateness for college students" by ten independent judges.

²¹ An expert photographer was employed to minimize variables due to the technicalities of making the composite photographs for the experimental groups.

perimental group was $-.08$. The change in ratings made by the experimental groups was associated positively with the ranking of the clothing outfits by the ten independent judges. Thus, the higher ranked clothing was consistently associated with the men who rose in rank, and the lower ranked clothing was associated with the men who lost in rank. This is what would be expected if the adage that "clothes make the man" has any truth to it.

DISCUSSION

It is believed that the above-described experiments are the first of their type to be reported; this fact may explain some of the methodological shortcomings which seem evident in retrospect. However, even considering their limitations, the experiments are empirical evidence of the varied conditions under which clothing may or may not be a factor in the status rating of men. Thus, the first experiment suggests that under certain social conditions, types of male clothing may be unimportant in status rating. At the same time, the second experiment lends weight to Hartmann's assertion that clothes "... involve extensive group reactions rich in meaning for the operation of many of our major community institutions. . . ."²²

It would be convenient and meaningful if one could say categorically, as a result of the experiments, that college students, when judging their male peers, are affected by the clothing outfits of the men judged according to whether or not the men are known by the judges. But the experiments are too dissimilar and limited to permit such an easy generalization. Further, the reliability and validity of the experiments can only be estimated. The second experiment appears to have been reliable, since very similar results were obtained in two very different colleges; its validity is suggested by the fact that changes in ratings did not occur except in association with the major variable introduced for the second test of the experimental groups. The first experiment was not tested for reliability,

but its validity is indicated to some extent by an analysis of the responses made by the judges. The results of this analysis are not given here; it is sufficient to state that the judges who would be most expected to be affected by type and style of clothing (those in higher status income-occupational groups) did make the greatest changes in their ratings on the second test as compared with the first.

Keeping all the limitations in mind, the following results were obtained with the two experiments:

(1) In a specified experimental situation, clothing did not appear to have been associated with important social ratings of some college men when they were rated by acquaintances; instead, the ratings made were associated with the degree of social closeness the judges expressed for the men judged.

(2) In another controlled situation, clothing appeared to be markedly associated with the attractiveness ratings of the pictures of some college-age men when the pictures were rated by college students unacquainted with the men pictured. The attractiveness ratings for men previously rated low went up when the men were pictured wearing clothing independently rated high in appropriateness; attractiveness ratings for men rated high went down when they were pictured wearing clothing rated low.

The two principal results outlined indicate that the data reported in this limited paper will support no more than very tentative conclusions, even for college students. But the data do have some significance in suggesting experimentally that clothing may play an important and measurable part in structuring the nature of interpersonal relationships under certain circumstances. It is true that "everyone knows" clothes play such a part in human society; however, the exact nature and extent to which clothing functions in an interacting world remain unknown, aside from the meager results obtained from the above-described type of experiments. Here, then, is a rich, untapped field for social research which cuts across the disciplines of home economics, psychology, sociology, and social psychology.

²² G. W. Hartmann, "Clothing: Personal Problem and Social Issue," *Journal of Home Economics*, 41 (June, 1949), p. 295.

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MIGRATION AND VERTICAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

RICHARD SCUDDER

Georgetown College

AND

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

University of Kentucky

STUDIES of social stratification in the United States have shown a striking contradiction in findings. The few studies of vertical mobility¹ report that a large minority or even majority of men are engaged in occupations with socio-economic status different from their fathers. The community-focused investigations of social classes, on the other hand, either neglect to report any observed vertical mobility or imply strongly that mobility is rare and class lines are firm.² An exception is a recent community study by Deasy,³ who took the novel step of inquiring directly about new and former members of the elite group and about families who had failed in their attempts to enter the elite. It is significant that she found a considerable influx into the upper-upper class.

Some of the sociologists engaged in the study of stratification have found it possible to reconcile these divergent findings. First of all, it is apparent that certain of the more active students of American stratification are not diligently looking into evidence on mobility. A second interpretation, which has been discussed at some length by Florence Kluckhohn,⁴ is based on observation of the

failure in the community studies of stratification to record the origins and careers of individuals migrating into or away from the community. It is to be expected that individuals who leave their home communities become detached from stable status relationships and manifest unusual mobility. The present study attempts to test this hypothesis.

The Kentucky community studied, containing about 1500 white households, is within an hour's drive of two moderate sized cities and within a hundred miles of two metropolitan centers. The "fathers" reported on are the white male household heads residing in the community and having one or more sons aged 15 or older who have completed their schooling. The sons are divided into two groups: those who have remained in the community, and those who have migrated. For each of these two groups occupations of fathers and sons are scaled and compared with each other. In addition, inter-generation occupational mobility is related to general social status scores of the fathers based on four combined indices: occupation, type of house, dwelling area, and prestige ratings by local judges.⁵

The combinations of occupations for each set of sons and fathers are shown in Table 1; the complete table is included because of the paucity of similar mobility data in the literature. The patterns of occupational inheritance and mobility here displayed resemble those found in the studies

¹ Richard Centers, "Occupational Mobility of Urban Occupational Strata," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (1948), pp. 197-203; H. D. Anderson and P. E. Davidson, *Occupational Mobility in An American Community*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1937; C. C. North and P. K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in L. Wilson and W. L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949, p. 473.

² The widely known studies published by W. L. Warner and his associates are particularly in point here.

³ Leila Calhoun Deasy, *Social Mobility in Northtown* (Cornell University Dissertation), 1953.

⁴ Florence R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientation," *Social Forces*, 28 (1950), p. 388.

⁵ The scales used, except for prestige, were those presented in W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, *Social Class in America: a Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949. Perforce, parental reports of migrant sons' occupations were used.

cited in footnote 1 above.⁶ This table does not, however, sufficiently display the effects of migration upon mobility.

Table 2 groups the white-collar and the manual occupations of the fathers into separate strata and further sub-classifies the parents by general or combined status scores. These composite scores take ac-

counted occupational and general status categories. In columns (3) and (4) are shown the proportions of those sons who were pursuing white-collar occupations. In the last six columns of the table the mobility of the resident and of the migrant sons is portrayed in terms of the percentages who were at the same, a higher, or a lower occu-

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS AND SONS BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND BY RESIDENCE OF SONS

Occupational Category of Fathers	Number	Percentage Distribution of Sons by Occupational Category						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Pro-fessional	Pro-prietors ¹	Minor Business Men ²	Clerical	Skilled Manual	Semi-Skilled Manual	Unskilled Manual
Resident Sons								
1 Professional	32	50	47			3		
2 Proprietors	80	8	49	12	16	9	5	1
3 Minor business men	88	1	14	27	27	23	7	1
4 Clerical	68		3	12	34	26	15	10
5 Skilled manual	128		2	5	9	56	17	11
6 Semi-skilled manual	51		2	13	8	24	41	12
7 Unskilled manual	43			2	12	30	16	40
Total	490	5	14	12	17	29	14	9
Migrant Sons								
1 Professional	23	52	31	9	4	4		
2 Proprietors	42	21	24	17	14	17	5	2
3 Minor business men	92	13	12	41	19	12	3	
4 Clerical	56	5	29	11	23	27	5	
5 Skilled manual	113	3	11	13	11	45	11	6
6 Semi-skilled manual	22			10	27	27	18	18
7 Unskilled manual	16	6	6	26	19	19	12	12
Total	364	11	16	20	16	26	7	4

¹ Group 2 is composed of all proprietors and major executives.

² Group 3 includes business executives above the clerical level. See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, pp. 132-141.

count of elements of status that are more varied and complex than occupational ratings alone. Columns (1) and (2) give the numbers of resident and migrant sons respectively for fathers in each of the desig-

⁶ The report deals with sons only; the results for the sons-in-law are similar. A father may appear in both sections of Table 1 if he has one son in the home community and one elsewhere. Although these data cannot settle the question posed in this paper, they may open the discussion on the basis of facts hitherto lacking. More extensive data would permit classifying the sons by age, distance of migration, and other factors.

national level than fathers on the seven-point occupational scale.

Though in total fewer than half of the sons left the community, the likelihood that a son would migrate was increased when the father's general social status was high. At a given level of general status sons of manual workers were more likely to migrate than were the sons of white-collar fathers. There were, however, no manual worker fathers in the highest general status bracket.

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was of course more frequent among the sons of white-collar fathers than among the sons of manual workers. This differential advantage was much less marked, however, among the migrant than among the resident sons—percentages for the migrants were 80 against 40, for the resident sons they were 72 against 18. General social status of the parent was influential along with parental vocation in determining the white-collar or

collar vocations. Mobility along this seven-point scale is summarized in the right section of Table 2.

Among resident sons there is an excess of moves into ranks below the father's position, among migrant sons the upward shifts exceed the downward. A fifth of the sons who remained in the home community rose to a position higher than that of the father and 37 per cent came to occupy a lower

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MIGRANT AND RESIDENT SONS IN RELATION TO COMBINED STATUS SCORE AND OCCUPATIONAL STRATUM OF FATHERS

Father's Combined Status Score ¹	Father's Occupational Stratum ²	Numbers of Sons		Percentage of Sons in White Collar Stratum ³		Percentage Distribution of Sons' Occupations Compared to Fathers' Occupations ⁴					
						Resident			Migrant		
		Resident	Migrant	Resident	Migrant	Higher	Same	Lower	Higher	Same	Lower
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
All	White Collar	268	213	72	80	11	38	51	27	34	39
	Manual	222	151	18	40	32	49	19	47	38	15
	Total	490	364	47	63	20	43	37	35	36	29
4-14	White Collar	107	107	92	89	8	57	35	28	40	32
	Manual	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total	107	107	92	89	8	57	35	28	40	32
15-18	White Collar	115	92	69	73	11	32	57	31	24	45
	Manual	44	51	32	43	43	48	9	45	45	10
	Total	159	143	59	62	20	37	43	36	32	32
19-27	White Collar	39	16	28	38	5	18	77	6	31	63
	Manual	173	110	16	40	34	43	23	52	33	15
	Total	212	126	18	40	29	39	32	46	33	21

¹ On each status index scores range 1-7; since four indexes are combined, the possible scores for the combined or general social status index range from 4-28.

² The manual stratum includes categories 4-7 of the occupational scale and white-collar includes categories 1-3.

³ In each cell the difference between the percentage given and 100 is the portion of sons in manual occupations.

⁴ Here both the fathers' and sons' occupations are in seven groups, as shown in Table 1.

manual status of sons. The lower the parental general status, the less likely were sons to become white-collar workers. This relationship was clear-cut for all the resident sons and for the migrant sons of white-collar workers, but it was virtually obliterated for the migrant sons of manual workers. In each instance, irrespective of the vocational or general status of the father, migrant sons entered white-collar positions more frequently than their non-migrant contemporaries. The migrants, it would seem, were not just restless incompetents.

A more adequate conception of occupational mobility can be developed by using seven occupational categories rather than the crude dichotomy of manual versus white-

position. Of the sons who moved to another community 35 per cent moved up the occupational scale while only 29 per cent moved down. If the sons remaining on the same level as the father are excluded, the relation of migration to direction of occupational mobility is even more striking. Of all the sons who did not leave the home community but did move into a vocational level different from that of the father, two-thirds dropped in status. Among sons who went elsewhere but did not pursue the same sort of job as the father, over half rose vocationally. The chances of going up rather than down, if mobile at all, were definitely greater for the migrants, and fewer of the migrants

entered occupations rating at the same level as those of their fathers.

The least mobile group was the resident sons of white-collar fathers with the highest composite social status. Sons of white-collar fathers whose parents were of rather low repute in terms of the combined index of status had a particularly unpromising outlook; a large majority of such sons dropped below their fathers' positions and few rose vocationally.

Among sons of manual workers quite a different mobility pattern is evidenced; the

tween father and son vocations.⁷ Table 3 provides some evidence on this point. As the first column of Table 3 shows, occupational inheritance was two-and-a-half times "expectancy" for the resident and twice "expectancy" for the migrant sons. In both groups downward shifts occurred to the extent of 80 per cent of "expectancy," as did upward shifts also among the migrants. However, resident sons moved upward only about half as often as would be expected on the null hypothesis. While (as noted above) the absolute percentages of upward

TABLE 3. RATIO OF ACTUAL TO EXPECTED NUMBERS * OF SONS IN OCCUPATIONS HIGHER, SIMILAR TO, OR LOWER THAN THE PARENTAL OCCUPATION BY RESIDENCE OF SON AND COMBINED SOCIAL STATUS SCORE OF FATHER

Son's Position Relative to Father's	Occupation of Father			Combined Status Score of Father		
	All	White-Collar	Manual	4-14	15-18	19-27
Residents Sons						
Higher	.56	.93	.51	.33	.67	.85
Same	2.55	3.41	2.21	1.78	1.75	1.49
Lower	.79	.66	1.08	.81	.87	.81
Migrant Sons						
Higher	.79	1.09	.72	.77	.85	.92
Same	1.91	2.15	1.74	1.61	1.41	1.20
Lower	.80	.65	1.21	.83	.92	.95

* The expected numbers were computed from the separate sections of Table 1 in the usual manner for contingency analysis. That is, the actual numbers of fathers in each of the seven occupational categories were multiplied by the percentages of sons in each category (for the resident and migrant groups separately) to get the "expected" figure in each father-son cell. The same values would of course result from multiplying the numbers of sons by the percentages of fathers.

effects of low general status of parents are mixed. The resident sons of manual worker fathers are less likely to advance occupationally and more likely to drop down the scale when the general status of the parents is low. But the one group of sons showing a majority rising above their fathers' positions are the migrant sons of the manual workers with the lowest general status.

The proportions that would rise or fall vocationally as compared with their parents, on the hypothesis that sons' occupations were unaffected by those of their fathers, vary with the relative positions of the fathers along the occupational scale. It is of interest, therefore, to ask how the mobility patterns actually displayed among sons of each of the two main groups, the resident and migrant, compare with the "expectancy" patterns derived from the null hypothesis, of no correlation be-

mobility were considerably greater for the sons of manual than of white-collar fathers, this absolute excess of upward mobility of sons of manual workers was less than the excess to be hypothetically expected. Among both migrant and resident sons upward mobility within the white-collar ranks, and downward mobility within the manual ranks were about equal to expectancy, but downward mobility of sons of white-collar and upward mobility of sons of manual workers were considerably below the hypothetical rate. It seems probable that these figures reflect a discontinuity in the occupational scale between the top manual and the low

⁷ An intensive exploration of alternative measures of mobility is to be found in the following study: C. Arnold Anderson, James C. Brown, and Mary Jean Bowman, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Political Economy*, 60 (1952), pp. 218-39.

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white-collar categories regardless of the group of sons involved. Migrant sons of both white-collar and manual worker fathers moved up the scale more frequently in relation to expectancies than did sons who remained in the community.

Once more it is instructive to take account of the father's combined or general status score as distinct from his occupational rank alone. As is shown in Table 3, inheritance of paternal occupation exceeded the hypothetical figures to a somewhat greater extent when fathers had high status than when they scored low. Cases in which the son dropped below the father's position occurred in about the same ratio to expectancy irrespective of the father's general status. The proportion of sons rising above their father's occupations more nearly approximates expectancy when fathers are of low general status than when they score high.⁸ This effect is much greater among resident sons. Thus the number of resident sons of fathers with combined status scores of 4 to 14 surpassing their fathers in occupation was only a third of expectancy; for those whose fathers' combined status score was 15 to 18, the ratio was two-thirds; but for the fathers with general status scores of 19 to 28, the proportion of expectancy was 85 per cent. For the corresponding three groups among migrant sons the proportions of the hypothetical rates were 77, 85, and 92 per cent respectively.

In general, the occupations of migrant sons of low status fathers come remarkably close to a zero correlation with parental vocations. Among these sons occupational inheritance is only 1.2 times expectancy on the null hypothesis and both upward and downward mobility exceed 90 per cent of the expected value. In view of the strong tendency toward inheritance of vocation among the migrant as well as resident sons generally, approach to the hypothetical distribution in this particular set of sons is noteworthy. Also migrant sons of middle status fathers and resident sons of low status fathers show a departure from inheritance

of vocational status that testifies to the impulses toward mobility revealed in this population.

Up to this point consideration has been given only to the proportions of sons moving up or down the occupational ladder, but not how far they move. In this as in other studies concerned with vertical mobility, it is evident that the majority of sons find themselves in strata which are the same as or adjacent to those of their fathers. This concentration of sons in the vicinity of the parental position is shown in Table 1; the vocational "distances" between fathers and sons are summarized in Table 4. The column headed "expected distribution" in Table 4 shows the percentage distribution of father-son differences in occupational position that would be expected if the over-all percentage of sons in the several occupational categories matched that for fathers but with no correlation between father and son in vocational status. It differs from the expectancies underlying Table 3 in that the latter were derived from the actual distributions of occupations of the two groups of sons as well as fathers. Thus in Table 4 the parameters used in quantifying the hypothesis of zero father-son occupational inheritance are so defined as to admit the possibility of 100 per cent inheritance; they abstract from the shift between the generations in the over-all occupational distribution.

From Table 4 as from Table 3 it is immediately evident that occupational inheritance exceeds the hypothetical rates and is greater for the resident than the migrant sons. The downward drift of the mobility distribution among the resident sons is marked, while there is a moderate upward drift among the migrants. The migrant sons were the more likely to depart markedly from the positions of their fathers. In the expected mobility figures of Table 4, 56 per cent of the sons would have departed from their fathers' vocational status by two or more steps along the occupational scale; in actuality among the migrant sons 35 per cent and among the resident sons only 26 per cent moved that far.

While this study can constitute only a footnote to empirical information concerning

⁸ This is the more noteworthy in that upward mobility was greater, relative to expectancy, when fathers were white-collar, and there is a positive association between white-collar vocation and high general status.

occupational mobility, its findings are sufficiently clear-cut to support at least two basic hypotheses. First, vocational status of sons is affected by general social status of parents as well as by their vocational rankings, especially within the group of white-collar fathers. Second, sons who migrate out of small or moderate-size communities are more likely to rise above their parents'

occupational status than sons who remain in the home town. Students of social stratification in American communities would do well to turn more of their attention toward the dynamic aspects of the situation before drawing conclusions concerning the fixity of status over time or even the nature of the over-all status structure at a given point in time.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FATHER-SON DIFFERENCES IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVEL

Number of Ranks Difference in Status			Resident Sons		Migrant Sons	
			Total	Mobile Only	Total	Mobile Only
Son higher	6	.6	0	0	.3	.4
	5	2.1	0	0	.3	.4
	4	5.0	.4	.7	1.9	3.0
	3	8.3	2.9	5.0	5.8	9.0
	2	11.9	5.5	9.7	14.3	22.2
	1	13.7	11.6	20.4	12.6	19.7
No difference	0	16.9	43.1	35.7
Father higher	1	13.7	19.4	34.1	17.0	26.5
	2	11.9	11.6	20.4	8.0	12.4
	3	8.3	4.1	7.2	3.0	4.7
	4	5.0	1.2	2.2	.8	1.3
	5	2.1	.2	.4	.3	.4
	6	.6	0	0	0	0
Number			490	279	364	234

* The "expected distribution" is the percentage distribution of numbers of steps from fathers' status shown in an expectancy table derived on the hypothesis of zero inheritance of occupation, taking the initial over-all distribution of fathers as the parameter for both generations and for both resident and migrant sons.

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A RECONSIDERATION OF SOME PAROLE PREDICTION FACTORS *

DANIEL GLASER

University of Illinois

THIS study is predicated on Ohlin's thesis: "The greatest increases in predictive accuracy will undoubtedly depend on securing better factors rather than on refining the techniques and methods of prediction work."¹ New factors, formulated for the present study, as well as factors used in earlier studies, were tested on 4448 inmates paroled during the decade 1940-49 from the Pontiac Branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary. This is an institution for prisoners classified "young and improvable." The mean age at parole was 24.1 years and the average time served before parole was 3.6 years.

For two-fifths of these inmates, parole was terminated in the Army. Although comparisons from numerous standpoints revealed little difference between the Army and the non-Army parolees, the violation rate for the Army cases was only 3.8 per cent, while for the non-Army group it was 39.4 per cent. Investigation of this disparity revealed not only that the Army in wartime provides an unusually favorable parole situation, but also that behavior in the Army which would constitute violation in civilian life is frequently not reported. Further, because of special dispensations granted by the Parole Board for military service, the average time on parole

was only 15.8 months for men discharged from parole while in the Army, but for non-Army cases it was 33 months. In view of the differences between the two parole situations, and the similar traits of the two groups of parolees, it was decided to base parole predictions for current cases only on the 2693 non-Army parolees.

The Army cases, from World War II, illustrate the point that in parole prediction our primary sampling problem lies in the selection of time periods—not populations. We predict from experience in one period what the outcome will be in another period, although parole violation rates vary with wars, economic trends, Parole Board policies and other time-connected variables. We must, therefore, seek stable factors.

For inclusion in this study a factor was required to show relatively consistent predictive utility in each of three periods: 1940-41, when 1451 Pontiac inmates were paroled, of whom 60 per cent were non-Army cases; 1942-44, when 1970 were paroled, of whom 47 per cent were non-Army cases; and 1945-49, when only 1027 were paroled, but 88 per cent were non-Army cases. These variations reflect marked changes in parole practice in Illinois during the period studied, which provide a stringent test for predictive stability. Nevertheless, the total number of non-Army cases in each of the three periods ranged only from 869 to 920, and the range of violation rates was only from 37.4 per cent to 40.0 per cent. Unless otherwise indicated, all violation rates and other data cited in this report will be for the non-Army cases for the full 1940-49 time sample.

ORIENTATION

In formulating prediction factors, all subjects were seen as possessing some criminal and some conventional values. Their allegiance to each type of value was be-

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, August, 1953. The author is indebted to his former employers, the Illinois Parole and Pardon Board, for encouraging and facilitating this study, and particularly to its present and former Chairmen, Mr. Victor I. Knowles and Mr. Joseph D. Lohman. Lloyd E. Ohlin, Research Consultant to the Board, has been of especially valuable assistance. Other Public Safety Department sociologists also assisted, particularly Gordon R. Beers, John A. Klem, Hans W. Mattick, Norman B. Johnston and Stow E. Symon. The author's wife performed a major share of all phases of the work, and inmates at Pontiac, Joliet and Menard also assisted.

¹ Lloyd E. Ohlin, *Selection for Parole*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1951, pp. 48-49.

lied to shift with the persons with whom they identify themselves and with their consequent conceptions of themselves. For any given period, such as the time on parole, the extent of criminal and other unconventional behavior was presumed to be a function of the subject's previous identifications and of his current circumstances. The latter were considered significant insofar as they affect the ease of making alternative types of identification. On the basis of the foregoing theoretical orientation, it was hypothesized that success on parole would tend to vary:

(1) Directly with the parolee's total previous identification with persons whose influence would be in support of conventional values.

(2) Inversely with his previous identification with persons who are unconventional in that they regard themselves as criminals or have grossly disorderly recreational interests (which would make for technical violations of parole rules).

(3) Directly with his probable economic opportunities and his acceptance by conventional associates.

This simple approach, which we prefer to call "Differential Identification," is an adaptation of Sutherland's criminological theory. Impressions from case study experience in prison led us to believe that, while this theory may not be adequate to account completely for all criminality on parole or for all other types of parole violation, it would be the most fruitful single theory to account for the behavior of most parolees. The data available in prison files on parolees before their release were examined to see what items could be recorded reliably as indices of the first two hypotheses above and as a basis for the forecasts implied in the third hypothesis. Tests were made also of some alternative hypotheses, which will be indicated in discussing the separate factors investigated. The adequacy of such testing was limited by the quality of information in prison records, by the somewhat fortuitous and variable circumstances determining designation of a parolee as a violator, and by the probable operation of variables not controlled in these tests.

HOME BACKGROUND FACTORS

The subject's behavior was seen as the outcome of competition between predominantly conventional home influences and delinquent associations outside the home. This notion was substantiated by findings that parole violation rates decreased steadily with Age at First Leaving Home or Foster Home for Six Months or More, from a high of 52.1 per cent violation for age 15 or less to a low of 26.8 per cent for age 20 or over. Mean Cost Rating, which is probably the most satisfactory index of selectivity, was .22 for this factor.²

² "Mean Cost Rating" hereafter will be abbreviated "MCR." One of the several virtues of this index, as compared with previously used measures, is its independence of the violation rate of the sample.

MCR is derived from two other measures, called "Utility" and "Cost." Insofar as any method of prediction separates our cases into categories with different violation rates, we can say that the method has the *Utility* of enabling us to deny parole to that proportion of our violators contained in the categories having the highest violation rates. For example, we could deny parole to all who left home at age 15 or younger, by use of the above factor. However, as long as we cannot predict 100 per cent violation for the cases in the categories to which we deny parole, use of this method would impose the *Cost* of our denying parole to a proportion of the potential non-violators in our sample.

Selectivity, which is measured by MCR, is increased as we increase the *difference* between Utility and Cost. Mathematically, for any factor which simply dichotomizes our cases, MCR equals Utility minus Cost for that one of the resulting two categories which has the highest violation rate. For example, in a dichotomous "Previous Criminality" factor, the category "Previous Criminality" would probably have a higher violation rate than the alternative category, "First Offender." In this case, MCR for the factor equals the proportion of the total violators in the sample who are in the "Previous Criminal Record" category (Utility) minus the proportion of total non-violators in the sample who are also in that category (Cost). For a factor which divides the cases into more than two categories, the calculation of MCR requires somewhat more complicated operations, but it is still primarily a function of the spread between Utility and Cost at every category.

For the detailed algebraic and graphic derivation of Utility, Cost and MCR, as well as a fuller discussion of their meaning and application, see O. D. Duncan, L. E. Ohlin, A. J. Reiss, Jr. and H. R. Stanton, "Formal Devices for Making Selection Decisions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58 (May, 1953), pp. 573-584.

Differential identification theory led us to anticipate that intimate interaction with delinquent peers on leaving home would be unfavorable to success on parole. Contrary to prevailing correctional belief, this relationship was expected also in confinement. Our hypotheses were validated by a drop in violation rate from 55.8 per cent for cases where the first Situation on Leaving Home was a Boy's Training School, to 37.9 per cent where it was a Jail and 31.2 per cent where it was a Prison. These differences were reduced, but not eliminated, by holding Age of Departure constant. Training schools in this area are of the cottage type, where the boys are under much more constant group pressure to conform with delinquent peers, than is the case in prisons, where inmates are separated in cells. The most uniformly favorable situation on first leaving home was service in the Armed Forces. Relatively low violation rates for Own Home at Marriage and high violation rates for Rooms Away from Home are actually average violation rates per age level, when Age of Departure from the parental home is held constant. MCR for Situation at First Leaving Home was .23.

Quality of the home, while significant, was not as useful in parole prediction as were the circumstances of the first prolonged departure from home. Where the home was rated Average or Higher economically, and no delinquency was reported, a violation rate of 30.7 per cent was found, for 983 cases, in contrast with 49.5 per cent violation at the other extreme, for 428 homes rated Marginal economically, in which delinquency was reported. The fact that the home was broken by absence of a parent bore little relationship to parole outcome, but in cases where conflict with a parent substitute was reported, 49.5 per cent violated. These findings were interpreted as indicating the relative conventionalizing influence of various home conditions.

Home background and home departure factors not designed to reflect a unitary criminological theory were not nearly so discriminating as were factors based on differential identification. One such eclectic factor was Cause of First Leaving Home, with such categories as Arrest and Incarceration,

and Running Away from Home. There is evidence that these categories show little discrimination because each is associated with a wide range of ages at departure from home and with varying intensities of delinquent and conventional identification in the post-departure situation. Its MCR was only .10. Also of much less predictive utility than other home background factors was the eclectic factor, used in earlier studies in Illinois, called "Home Status," the categories of which are: Superior, Average, Inferior, Broken, Institution and Left Home. Its MCR was but .11.

SCHOOLING AND EMPLOYMENT

Other findings also justify the emphasis which we placed upon seeking indices of the parolee's conventional and criminal identifications. Schooling, presumably a conventionalizing influence, was highly associated with parole success. Violation rates decreased from 52.8 per cent for those with fourth grade education or less to 21.1 per cent for those with high school or more. MCR was only .17 because two-thirds of the inmates were grouped in the middle range, 7th to 9th grade. It is anticipated that a reliable index of school *adjustment* would show an even greater utility in selection for parole. Intelligence scores had much less association with parole outcome than had Schooling; MCR for Intelligence was only .06. Even this level of selectivity could be achieved only by ignoring the logical order of Intelligence categories and ranking them, instead, in the order of increasing parole violation rates, which was: High Average; Dull; Low Average; Superior; Average; Very Superior; Borderline and Mental Defective.

Parolees who were students or who worked steadily before their offense had a violation rate of only 24.4 per cent, as contrasted with 44.5 per cent for those with unstable work records. MCR for this factor, Work Record, was .17. Inmates whose Vocational Capacity at parole was rated Adequate Skilled Trade had a violation rate of only 22.3 per cent; violation rates increased to 47.0 per cent for those rated Only Unskilled Labor. MCR for Vocational Capacity was .19. The violation rate for 1387 parolees who spent at least

two-thirds of their prison terms on assignments having some academic or vocational training value was 33.0 per cent, while the rate for 1306 other inmates was 46.2 per cent. Classifying certain of the shops as possessing vocational training value in the case of all men assigned there was of rather dubious validity, and the MCR for this factor was only .14. Nevertheless, it is believed that these factors indicate some desire and ability to use conventional means to attain economic self-sufficiency and, thereby, to be accepted in conventional circles.

CRIMINAL RECORD

The factor Type of Offender, altered only slightly since Burgess' pioneer 1928 study,³ yielded violation rates varying from 49.4 per cent for Recidivists to 26.2 per cent for First Offenders. The Juvenile Recidivist category was unstable, having a violation rate of only 38.2 per cent in 1942-44, but over 53.0 per cent in the remainder of the 1940-49 period. MCR was .19.

More discriminating was the factor Most Serious Previous Sentence. Violation rates varied from 24.2 per cent for 509 inmates with no previous arrest to 54.3 per cent for 514 previously in Boy's Training Schools. The 284 cases with previous Prison commitments had a violation rate of 38.7 per cent. This finding supports the inference regarding these types of institution which was made in our discussion of Situation on First Leaving Home. MCR for this factor was .21.

Auto Larceny and Burglary were the most unfavorable offenses, with violation rates of 50.2 per cent and 47.9 per cent, respectively. It is believed that this finding reflects the low apprehension and conviction rate for these offenses and the consequent considerable criminal experience of the offenders. Sex Offenses and Homicide and

Assault were most favorable, with violation rates of 13.3 per cent and 20.0 per cent, respectively. Violation rates for other offenses were: Robbery 31.4 per cent, Larceny and Stolen Property 39.5 per cent, Forgery and Fraud 41.8 per cent and Miscellaneous 34.8 per cent. Auto Larceny was more unfavorable and Forgery more favorable in this sample than in studies of older offenders. This finding supports other evidence of the association of age with these offenses. MCR for this factor was .19.

Reclassification of Present and Previous Offenses into a new factor, Total Criminal Record, yielded an interesting and selective factor. Violation rates were: Crime against Person, First Offense—20.3 per cent; Crime against Property, First Offense—32.6 per cent; Crime against Person, Previous Misdemeanors—34.0 per cent; Two or More Crimes against Persons—36.7 per cent; Crime against Property, Previous Misdemeanors—39.6 per cent; Two or More Crimes Against Property—48.0 per cent. The impression gained from case studies, particularly with youthful offenders, is that specialized offenders against property are generally involved in much more extensive and professionally oriented criminality before their apprehension and conviction than are the offenders against persons. MCR for this factor was .20.

PERSONAL SUMMARIZATION CLASSIFICATIONS

One of the criticisms levelled against actuarial predictions, as compared with case study prognoses, is that, because of the actuary's preference for factors which can readily and reliably be objectified, he may neglect highly significant behavior patterns which are somewhat subjective in character and do not lend themselves to reliable classification except in extreme cases. This problem was recognized even in the earliest studies by Burgess and his associates. Efforts to take account of behavior patterns recognized only subjectively resulted in the use of various factors based on summary impressions of the persons studied, such as Social Type and Psychiatric Prognosis. The Social Type factors have been found highly selective, despite their relatively low reliability.

³ E. W. Burgess, "Factors Determining Success or Failure on Parole," Part IV of A. A. Bruce, A. J. Harno, E. W. Burgess and John Landesco, *The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois*, Springfield, Illinois: State Board of Parole, 1928; also E. W. Burgess, "Is Prediction Possible in Social Work?" *Social Forces*, 8 (June, 1929), pp. 535-545.

Eight of the ten categories of the factor Social Type, as used in Illinois for 25 years, were largely inapplicable to youthful offenders. Over three-fourths of our cases were classified Ne'er-do-Well or Socially Inadequate, with violation rates of 31.8 per cent and 49.1 per cent, respectively. MCR was .21.

When these Social Types were redefined into seven general types, toward which the subjects seemed to be developing prior to their offenses, a larger proportion of the cases fell into other categories. Violation rates for the categories of this factor, called Social Development Pattern, varied from only 6.0 per cent for 117 cases classified Respected Citizen to 60.6 per cent for 287 classified Socially Maladjusted. Violation rates for intervening categories were: Fairly Conventional—13.9 per cent; Inadequate—40.1 per cent; Ne'er-do-Well—44.3 per cent; Floater—48.9 per cent; and Dissipated—53.9 per cent. MCR was .32—the highest for any single factor investigated.

Where completely new judgments are made from the limited case material in the files, the reliability of personal summarization factors seems to decrease as their selectivity increases. Part of the unreliability may result from the youth of the subjects, who present relatively brief independent careers upon which to base judgment. Experiments were made with numerous classifications of social type, but reliability was always low unless the categories were made so broad as to lose their selectivity.

While intensive training of raters might boost reliability, the relatively high coefficients of reliability thereby achieved would only be applicable to situations duplicating the training conditions. These conditions cannot be guaranteed in the situations where routine prediction of new cases is likely to occur. Most prudent, from the standpoint of the parole prediction worker, is the conservative method of instruction which consists merely in supplying the raters with the written definitions which will be available for the actual prediction situation.

A. J. Reiss Jr. has drawn a distinction between "gross" reliability for a factor, the proportion of cases on which two independent ratings disagree, and "net" reliability,

the proportion of cases in which independent ratings classify the cases under different score groups of a prediction instrument. For example, if one rater calls a subject "Socially Maladjusted" and another designates him "Drunkard," this fact does not affect the prediction score of the case if both categories have the same weight. The disagreement reduces gross reliability, but not net reliability. A major consideration, however, is that while regrouping into score categories may increase net reliability, it also reduces selectivity. MCR's should be recalculated for the *effective score groups* rather than for the total range of categories before a factor is accepted for a prediction instrument.⁴

When 200 cases drawn randomly from the sample were classified independently by different pairs of raters, there was agreement on Social Development Pattern classification in only 76 cases, or 38 per cent of those checked. When the categories were dichotomized into two weight groups, net reliability rose to 68 per cent, still a low figure, and MCR dropped from .32 to .22. For three weight scoring, reliability was 57 per cent and MCR .28. For five weights, reliability was only 43.5 per cent, but MCR was .31. The high selectivity achieved despite low reliability shows that reliability errors are not random; 59 per cent of the disagreements by the pairs of independent raters consisted simply in their rating cases in adjacent categories on the seven category continuum. On the five-unit weighting system, the average reliability error was 0.9 units per case. When the low reliability is analyzed in these terms, it may be considered a tolerable price for the extreme selectivity and the unusual stability of this factor, as compared with those of the highly objective factors. We, therefore, felt justified in combining this factor with those of high reliability for our five-weight prediction tables.

A Life Organization classification, suggested by the W. I. Thomas concept, yielded a violation rate of 51.3 per cent for 1280 cases classified Disorganized Unconstructive,

⁴ A. J. Reiss Jr., "The Accuracy, Efficiency and Reliability of a Prediction Instrument," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949.

in contrast with only 6.6 per cent for 166 cases rated Stable Constructive. The intervening categories, Organized Unconstructive and Unstable Constructive, had violation rates of 33.5 per cent and 27.6 per cent, respectively. Gross reliability, however, was only 48.1 per cent. Net reliability, when the factor was dichotomized into "Constructive" and "Unconstructive," increased to 74.8 per cent, but MCR was thereby reduced from .28 to .18.

Social Type, Social Development Pattern and Life Organization were all more discriminating predictors than psychiatrically oriented judgments by the Office of the State Criminologist. The latter judgments were those recorded as "Prognosis" and "Personality Rating" in the reports of that office on their last interview with each subject before parole. These judgments failed to yield continuously increasing violation rates from the presumably most favorable category to the most unfavorable. Prognosis was the better of the two, with violation rates increasing from 20.2 per cent for "Favorable" to 48.9 per cent for "Guarded," but dropping to 30.4 per cent for "Guarded to Unfavorable." Of the categories employed under Personality Rating, "No Gross Defects" had a violation rate of 30.0 per cent, but "Gross Personality Disorders" had a violation rate of 37.0 per cent. Both of these rates are below the average violation rate of the sample. "Immature and Unstable" was the least favorable category, with a violation rate of 50.0 per cent. Most other categories had violation rates close to the mean violation rate. MCR was .16 for Prognosis and .06 for Personality Rating.

Violation rates were almost identical for colored and white inmates in this sample, which was 77.4 per cent white. There was some evidence that racial designation is a "suppressor variable," as we understand Horst's use of that concept, since certain factor categories showed different implications in prediction for different racial groups.⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The exploration of alternative methods of forming experience tables with our data

⁵ Cf., Paul Horst, editor, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, New York: Social Science Research Council, Bull. 48, 1941, pp. 434-436.

is a major project which will be reported separately. It may be mentioned, however, that a table based on seven factors described here, with per category weights having a range of five units, yielded an MCR of .43.⁶ The factors were: Age at First Leaving Home, Social Development Pattern, Work Record, Most Serious Previous Sentence, Total Criminal Record, Schooling and Use of Prison Time. Error, in percentage points, was only 0.9 for predicting the 1942-44 violation rate from 1940-41 experience, and 1.8 for predicting the 1945-49 violation rate from 1942-44 experience.

The study demonstrates the heuristic value of theory in formulating prediction factors. For example, data on such useful factors as "Age" or "Situation" on "First Leaving Home or Foster Home for Six Months or More" are not recorded as such in prison records. Only a theory, such as that of Differential Identification, would lead one to translate the brief life histories, criminal records, military service data and other information in the records into the classifications represented by such factors. Underemphasis or uncritical eclecticism of theory leads to sterile, technique-oriented efforts to grasp anything readily objectifiable which appears in institution records, as is illustrated by the fruitless use of height and weight in several criminological prediction studies.

The findings here described were interpreted as evidence of the utility of the theory of differential identification as a basis of prediction. While alternative theoretical explanations might be made *ex post facto*, it is believed that none would provide so adequate and parsimonious an explanation of the findings. This study is not, however, considered a conclusive test of the theory

⁶ By comparison, MCR is .36 for the twelve-factor table currently used at the Joliet and Menard Branches of the Illinois State Penitentiary (published as Appendix G in Ohlin, *op cit.*). It is believed that the improvement which we have achieved results entirely from improving the factors utilized. The Joliet-Menard twelve-factor table was formulated by selecting the most stable and efficient of 27 factors contained in a table in use in Illinois since 1938. This table had altered only slightly the factors used in the pioneer study of Burgess.

of differential identification. It is believed that, at best, the theory, in its present form, can be only a useful "rule of thumb" with which to begin an analysis. Ultimately the theory must be refined into a hierarchy of logically related propositions, on varying levels of generality, which will classify offenders into functional types and will then explain each type with reference to its unique characteristics.

If, in criminological prediction studies of

all types, the prediction factors are logically justified in advance in terms of clearly stated theory, that theory which yields accurate prediction will increasingly be acceptable as scientific knowledge. Criminology can, in this way, become more of a cumulative science and less of a disparate collection of independent unverified or unverifiable theories, from which one selects whatever aspects are most convenient or fashionable at each particular time and context.

NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



DELIBERATELY ORGANIZED GROUPS AND RACIAL BEHAVIOR

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AND

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This paper analyzes race relations in a neighborhood situation of a large city. The analysis is centered on the deliberately organized collectivities of the neighborhood and the role of these collectivities in mobilizing individuals and in providing a framework for action.

The observed actions, of a sample of 151 residents of the neighborhood toward Negroes as neighbors, were analyzed. This analysis was made in relation to an intensive background study of the neighborhood itself. The 151 individuals within the neighborhood selected for study were all members of a labor union with a clear, implemented policy of granting Negroes complete equality on the job. The neighborhood in which they were residents and of which they were an organic part, however, was strongly anti-Negro with respect to the movement of Negroes into the neighborhood. The majority of the individuals studied were consistent in exhibiting what appeared to be an ambiguous and contradictory pattern in their identification with both the community and the union with regard to the race relations pattern.

It follows that this individual behavior cannot be understood in terms of individual attitudes in either case but does become intelligible when examined in the perspective of deliberately organized groups. Seen against the background of the organizational structuring of the individuals as members of the neighborhood group and on the other hand as members of an organized work group (union) this seemingly paradoxical behavior becomes understandable.

The study of the neighborhood indicated that in the center of the organizational pattern of the community was the deliberately organized property owners' association, called the Civic Club. This Civic Club can be considered a key factor in explaining the action of individuals toward Negroes as neighbors.

The role of the Civic Club is indicated by the following comment made by its president: "Now we generally don't talk about that freely,

but actually the main purpose of the club is to keep up the bar against the colored element moving in here. That was the purpose when it was first organized and that is still the purpose today." This was further substantiated by the club's secretary-treasurer who had been in office for about twenty years and controlled the club thoroughly. He said: "Of course we are interested in keeping this community white. We are not intolerant but just like to protect our homes and interests. We have had several intrusions but all of them have been eliminated by direct action of the club."

The Civic Club represented itself as the voice of the people of the community. In letters to officials and newspapers the club always purported to represent and express the sentiments of *all* the inhabitants. This claim, however, was unfounded. It is more accurate to state that the club formulated the sentiments and gave direction to the actions of a large portion of the population on certain issues, namely those dealing with the residential neighborhood.

The community had a population of about 10,000. During the years 1946-49 the club had a paid membership of about 300 families. Attendance records showed, however, that a very small proportion of the members actually attended meetings. At two meetings the attendance was 75 persons, at two meetings it was between 40 and 49, at twenty-seven meetings it was between 30 and 39, at eight meetings between 20 and 29, and at five meetings the attendance was below 20 persons. Furthermore the club was actually controlled by a small clique. This clique formulated club policies, drew up resolutions, and acted in the name of the club.

The operations of the club must be understood on two levels: the direct actions of the club, and the actions of the club in influencing the activities of other community organizations where Negroes were involved.

On the first level the club acted directly to prevent Negroes from moving into the neighborhood. As the president stated: "People here know that we exist and they will turn to us as soon as a problem comes up—it gives them a feeling of security to know that the club is there." Another official stated: "Let something happen and they come running to

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us. Let one Negro move within ten blocks, and they come saying to us, 'What are you going to do about it?' 'Why did you let this happen?'"

Even more important is the second level of activity. As far as the Negro question is concerned, there was general agreement among people who are familiar with the community that the Civic Club intentionally provided the initiative for all other community organizations. One of the board members indicated in an interview that the club made a definite effort to have the key people of the various other organizations as active members and officers. A detailed study of the active members of the club revealed that the Civic Club had been successful in establishing ties with all the other community organizations. Consequently the influence of the club was actually greater than is indicated by its actual membership. By being in the center of the organizational structure of the community, the club was able to define and structure any situation which involved Negroes as neighbors.

Through this organizational structuring and definition the Civic Club was able to mobilize individuals in terms of the specific interests of the individuals in the situation. In the community situation these interests centered around property values and social acceptance. The Civic Club's definition of the situation—rejection of Negroes as neighbors—provided the individual with well formulated statements, reasons, and justification for specific actions in specific situations involving the individual's interests in the neighborhood situation.

The same individual in a different context, for example, at work, with a corresponding organizational structuring of the specific situation, acts in terms of this definition of the situation by another deliberately organized collectivity. In neither case does the individual act out any abstract generalized attitudes toward Negroes, which could become important only when the deliberate definition is absent. In modern society, however, the major and significant areas of social life, namely those centered around jobs, business and the community, are increasingly characterized by the presence of organized interest groups.

The interviews indicated the validity of the above approach. We selected for interviews 151 industrial workers who lived in the neighborhood studied and who belonged to the union studied. Their names and addresses were obtained from the union files. Two locals of the union were involved. In the case of one local we interviewed all the members who lived in the neighborhood. In the case of the other local a union staff member selected a random

sample for us. We attempted to interview all individuals whose addresses we obtained. One hundred and fifty-one interviews were actually conducted. In 51 cases we were either unable to locate the person or unable to obtain an interview. A detailed study of these 51 cases did not disclose anything that would indicate that they were significantly different from the interviewed group.

After the interviews were completed we extracted from each interview all available information relating to the person's involvement in the community, his rejection of Negroes in the community, his identification with the union and his acceptance of Negroes on the job. Each case was then judged "high," "medium," or "low" in each of these areas. We then constructed tables to indicate the association between these areas.

Three tables and a list of criteria used in making the judgments accompany this paper. Table 1 indicates a significant association between involvement in the neighborhood and rejection of Negroes in the neighborhood. Table 2 indicates a significant association between identification with the union and acceptance of Negroes on the job. Table 3 indicates no association between rejection of Negroes in the neighborhood and acceptance of Negroes on the job.

TABLE 1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INVOLVEMENT IN COLLECTIVE EXISTENCE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND REJECTION OF NEGROES IN NEIGHBORHOOD *

Rejection of Negroes in Neighborhood	Involvement in the Collective Existence of the Neighborhood			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
High	56	9	3	68
Medium	8	36	18	62
Low	1	8	12	21
Total	65	53	33	151

Chi-square=79.90

T=.41

* Criteria for judging involvement of individual in the collective existence of the neighborhood.

The major consideration in judging an individual in this area is the degree to which he is exposed to the collective existence of the neighborhood. The following factors should be taken into consideration: (1) Expression of likes or dislikes for the community and reasons; (2) Length of time lived in neighborhood; (3) Community newspapers read and evaluation of them; (4) Membership in organizations, frequency of attendance, leadership positions held;

(5) Church attendance and membership in church organizations, frequency of attendance, leadership positions held; (6) Knowledge of community organizations, particularly of the Civic Club; (7) Informal social contacts of the individual in neighborhood, social clubs, friends in neighborhood, relationship with neighbors; (8) Home ownership.

Guides for judgment

- High:** Indication of high degree of involvement with neighborhood and receptiveness of individual to collective influences of neighborhood. This involvement can be through a number of the above factors or through a few intensive contacts.
- Medium:** Mild involvement indicated by few contacts or by lack of interest in neighborhood.
- Low:** Indications of indifference to what goes on in neighborhood by having minimum contacts; or indications that interests are definitely outside neighborhood.

Criteria for judging rejection of Negroes in neighborhood by individuals (guides for judgment).

- High:** Very strong expression of rejection of Negroes as neighbors and listing of reasons for rejection, such as: property values drop, crime increases, Negroes are dirty, Negroes are diseased, Negroes are lazy; accompanied by indication that individual is favorably inclined toward some action to keep Negroes out of neighborhood.
- Medium:** Expressed rejection of Negroes but vague as to reasons for it.
- Low:** Indifference to the presence of Negroes in neighborhood or acceptance of Negroes in neighborhood.

TABLE 2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INVOLVEMENT IN UNION ACTIVITIES AND ACCEPTANCE OF NEGROES AT WORK *

Acceptance of Negroes at Work	Involvement in Union Activities			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
High	45	19	2	66
Medium	7	47	13	67
Low	0	6	12	18
Total	52	72	27	151

Chi-square=86.45

T=.53

* Criteria for judging involvement in union activities.

The major consideration in judging an individual in this area, is the individual's degree of involvement in union activities. The following

factors should be taken into consideration: (1) (a) If the individual began work about 1942—time interval between starting to work and joining union; (b) If the individual began to work before 1942—time interval between 1942 and joining the union; (2) Reasons given by individual for joining the union; (3) Expression of feeling that union has helped him; specific instances of help; (4) Attendance at meetings; (5) Offices held; (6) Expression of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with union and reasons. (In view of the clearly defined union position in regard to Negroes, an individual's dissatisfaction because he considers the union weak, should influence a high rating, as opposed to a lower rating for dissatisfaction with the union because it interferes with the individual's freedom of activity.)

Guides for judgment

- High:** Indication of strong involvement in union activities and receptiveness of the individual to the union's definition of the situation. Particularly important would be strong feeling that union has been helpful and ability to give specific instances of help.
- Medium:** Indications of moderate involvement in union activities—qualified approval of union, moderate feeling that union has been helpful.
- Low:** Indications of indifference or rejection of union. Denial that union has been helpful.

Criteria for judging acceptance of Negroes in work situation (guides for judgment).

- High:** Positive statement in regard to Negroes in work situation—in the plant and in the union.
- Medium:** Passive acceptance of Negroes in work situation—expression of sentiment that nothing can be done about Negro workers combined with absence of strong anti-Negro statements.
- Low:** Strong anti-Negro statements and suggestions that Negroes should be removed.

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REJECTION OF NEGROES IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND ACCEPTANCE OF NEGROES AT WORK

Acceptance of Negroes at Work	Rejection of Negroes in Neighborhood			
	High	Medium	Low	Total
High	31	25	10	66
Medium	26	32	9	67
Low	11	5	2	18
Total	68	62	21	151

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TESTING THE RELIABILITY OF
SYSTEMATIC FIELD OBSERVATIONS *F. JAMES DAVIS
College of Wooster

AND

ROBERT HAGEDORN
San Francisco

In current social research the observational method appears to be used chiefly for exploratory study. Random observation has great utility for this purpose, especially when a relatively unknown area is to be studied. Such observation, of course, warrants tentative suggestions rather than final conclusions. If one wishes to use observational data to make statements of greater certainty, he is obliged to give attention to matters of proof, or hypothesis-testing. This calls for systematic rather than random observations, and for some means of testing the reliability of the data.¹

Random observations are probably always selective, but the basis for the selection is not explicit. Systematic observation involves the use of selected categories which establish a common frame of reference, so that various persons may deliberately observe the same thing. The use by different observers of explicit and clearly defined categories provides sets of comparable data which make reliability testing possible.

In the study on which this paper is based a need arose to make systematic observations of certain behavior of official leaders in small, relatively isolated Air Force installations. The study dealt with conceptions of three official leader roles: (1) the Commanding Officer role,

(2) the Generalized Officer role,² and (3) the NCOIC³ role. The primary use for the observational data was in testing the hypothesis that the observed behavior of official leaders can be predicted from their responses to questionnaire items concerning the ways leaders in their positions *should* act. The questionnaire measured four attitude areas or dimensions of role-conception:

- I. Interest in Men.⁴
- II. Way of Giving Orders.⁵
- III. Adherence to Air Force regulations.
- IV. Consistency in Disciplinary Matters.

The task of the field observers was to make a record of all official leader acts pertaining to any of these four dimensions. Since reliability could be affected at various points, the design included procedural rules and provisions for reliability tests. Prior exploratory observing and interviewing was invaluable in planning this design.

PROCEDURAL RULES

(1) *Rules for Observing.* The necessity was felt for rules governing observer conduct. Three rules dealing with where observers should spend their time and under what conditions they should "migrate" were stated, and one rather lengthy rule concerning the manner in which observers should act towards the airmen.

(2) *Rules for Recording.* Many problems of recording were anticipated in the original list of rules, but some additions and modifications were made after the observing had begun. The final list consisted of ten rules, five of which dealt with the type of evidence to be recorded, two with discussions between observers, two with the time and place of making records, and one with record content. Probably the most important rule was this one:

Every single act of one of the official leaders toward a follower which is in any way relevant to any of the four dimensions is to be recorded, regardless of how many items of a particular

* During 1951-52 the authors, J. Robert Larson and Harold Kant comprised the Leadership Team of Air Site Project at the University of Washington. During that time Delbert C. Miller was Principal Investigator of the Project. This research was supported by the United States Air Force under Contract Number AF 33 (038) 26823, monitored by the Human Resources Research Institute, Air Research and Development Command, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication and disposal in whole and in part by or for the U. S. Government.

¹ For statements of this position, and outstanding work, see Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *et al.*, *Observational Studies of Social Behavior*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933, esp. p. 105 and pp. 243-46. Also, Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Associates, *Some Techniques for Studying Social Behavior*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.

² All officers at the base except the Commanding Officer.

³ Non-Commissioned-Officer-in-Charge (of a work crew or work section).

⁴ Includes being interested in the followers as persons, and being willing to help with their problems.

⁵ Democratic-Authoritarian continuum. A "Democratic" order was defined as asking a follower to act and implying that he has a voice in what is to be done, and an "Authoritarian" order as telling the follower to act and implying that the leader must be obeyed without question.

type have already been recorded on an individual. In case of doubt as to relevance, a record is to be made and a final decision made later as to inclusion (by a panel of judges).

This rule is important because negative evidence must not be ignored in science. It is possible in random field observing to ignore evidence which seems contrary to conclusions already reached.

Generally observers classify at the time of the observation. The observers did classify in the sense that they recorded only behavior deemed relevant to one or more of the four dimensions, but the final placement into one or more of the dimensions was too difficult to make under field pressures. Deferral made it possible to make a separate test of the reliability of the classifying operations.

(3) *Rules for Content Analysis of Observation Records.* (a) *Rules for Classifying Records.* The classification problem was difficult because the study concerned four dimensions of leader behavior. Three rules specified the operations to be used in deciding whether a record was relevant to a particular dimension. One rule was:

An observational item shall be included in a particular dimension only if it seems clearly relevant to one of the questionnaire items constructed for that dimension. Thus, the item may be classed as relevant to all, or any combination, or none of the four dimensions.

Three judges⁶ made independent decisions, and one of the rules stated that the record should be ultimately included if two judges classed it as relevant.

(b) *Rules for Ranking Leaders.* Using the records judged relevant by the classifying operations, the same three judges were to assign each official leader a rank on each of the four dimensions. Nine detailed rules were formulated to guide the process. The following ranks were used for all four dimensions:

- (1) Strong evidence of (Dimension), with no contrary evidence.
- (2) Considerable evidence of (Dimension), with little or no contrary evidence.
- (3) Roughly equal amounts of evidence of (Dimension), and of evidence to the contrary.
- (4) Considerable evidence of lack of (Dimension), with little or no contrary evidence.
- (5) Strong evidence of lack of (Dimension), with no contrary evidence.
- (6) Insufficient evidence on which to base a classification.

⁶ Two judges had been field observers; the third received considerable oral instruction to help him to follow the stated rules.

RELIABILITY TESTS

As will become clear below, a method for testing the reliability of observing and recording was used which required the prior testing of the reliability of the content analysis of the records.

(1) *Reliability of Classifying Procedure.* A test of the reliability of the classifying procedure was performed by determining the amount of agreement among the classifications made by the three judges. The classifications of records were to be accepted as reasonably reliable if there were 75 per cent agreement or better among the three judges. This level was exceeded in all four attitude dimensions, as Table 1 shows, and the over-all agreement was 82 per cent.

TABLE 1. AMOUNT OF AGREEMENT IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF OBSERVATION RECORDS

Dimension	Number of Agreements ¹ (510 Records Classified)	Per Cent of Agreement
I.	400	78.5
II.	436	85.5
III.	395	77.5
IV.	437	85.7

¹ An agreement was defined as the inclusion of a record in a particular dimension by all three judges.

(2) *Reliability of Ranking Procedure.* Using records classified as relevant, official leaders were then assigned ranks on each dimension in all instances in which there were sufficient records. First the judges assigned two sets of ranks (for each dimension), one set based on the records made by one of the two field observers and the other set on the records made by the other. The arbitrary 75 per cent level of agreement was also adopted for testing the reliability of the ranking. Table 2 shows the test results. With one exception the 75 per cent level was exceeded, the exception being in connection with Observer A's Dimension II records.

The records of the two observers were then combined and the judges proceeded to assign ranks on the basis of total records. (Procedural rules were designed to minimize the effect of remembering the two sets of ranks already assigned.) The amount of agreement in the rankings based on total records is shown in Table 3. Rankings based on Dimension II records again fall below the 75 per cent level of agreement, while other rankings are above the level.

(3) *Reliability of Field Observing and Recording.* The logic of the test of field observer reliability was as follows: Assuming consistent

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behavior on the part of the official leaders, composite rankings⁷ based on Observer A's records should agree with those based on Observer B's records if both the observations and records of the two are reliable.⁸ (Although the two observers generally did not observe the same acts, relevant situations recurred many times in the course of a work day. Thus, Observer A was likely to see Leader X act in situations similar to those witnessed previously or subsequently by Observer B.) Of course, the

TABLE 2. AMOUNT OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE THREE JUDGES ON RANKINGS BASED ON OBSERVER A'S RECORDS AND ON RANKINGS BASED ON OBSERVER B'S RECORDS

Dimension	Observer A's Records			Observer B's Records		
	No. of Rank-	No. of Agree-	Per Cent of Agree-	No. of Rank-	No. of Agree-	Per Cent of Agree-
	ings	ments ¹	ments ²	ings	ments ¹	ments ²
I.	9	8	88.9	15	15	100.0
II.	15	11	73.3	20	16	80.0
III.	7	7	100.0	11	10	90.9
IV.	5	5	100.0	10	8	80.0
Total	36	31	86.1	56	49	87.5

¹ The definition of an "agreement" was as follows: Ranks 1 and 2 were combined, and ranks 4 and 5 were combined, making a total of 3 ranks for reliability testing. If only two judges assigned a rank, an "agreement" was defined as their assigning identical ranks. If all three judges assigned a rank, an "agreement" was defined as their assigning identical or adjacent ranks.

² There was some bunching of rankings. In 3 of the 8 instances, over three-fourths of the rankings were in one of the combined ranks (1 and 2 or in 4 and 5). However, bunching was not associated with the obtaining of the 75 per cent level of agreement.

final rankings could disagree because of unreliability in the classifying and ranking operations. After these operations had been tested and accepted as reasonably reliable, as explained above, it was reasoned that undue disagreement in the rankings based on the two observers' records would reflect low reliability of observing and recording. The 70 per cent

⁷ Rankings arrived at by combining the separate rankings of the three judges.

⁸ Rules for observing and recording prohibited the two observers from discussing observations except under very restricted conditions.

level was adopted as acceptable for this test.⁹ As Table 4 shows, agreement ranged from 85.7 per cent to 100 per cent in the 4 dimensions, and overall agreement was 91.1 per cent.

The number of cases which could be used for this test was very small. Also, the rankings in these cases were markedly bunched (see Table 4 notes), and there is a moderate association between bunching and obtaining the desired level of agreement. Thus the percentages of agreement in Table 4 are perhaps spuriously high.

TABLE 3. AMOUNT OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE THREE JUDGES ON RANKINGS BASED ON TOTAL OBSERVATIONS¹

Dimension	No. of Rankings	No. of Agreements ²	Per Cent of Agreements ³
I.	17	15	88.2
II.	22	15	68.2
III.	16	14	87.5
IV.	13	11	84.6
Total	68	55	80.9

¹ "Total Observations" means all observational records classified as relevant.

² The definition of an "agreement" was the same as explained in the Table 2 note.

³ Bunching in one of the combined ranks was not marked. Only for Dimension I were over three-fourths of the rankings in one of the combined ranks (1 and 2 or in 4 and 5). Bunching was not associated with obtaining the 75 per cent level of agreement.

Tests having been made for the reliability of the various operations, the field data for Dimensions I, III, and IV were then accepted for testing content hypotheses.¹⁰ It was reasoned that the field data should be used only if the desired levels of reliability for all three phases were met. Since agreement was too low

⁹ It seemed unnecessary to maintain the 75 per cent level for this test because disagreement could reflect imperfect reliability of classifying and ranking as well as observing and recording. It has already been shown that the classifying and ranking operations were not perfectly reliable, although they exceeded the 75 per cent level. It was reasoned that the level of agreement for this final test had to be lower than the level adopted for the test which involved only classifying and the one which involved only ranking, in order to prevent "Type II error." There was no basis for deciding how much to lower the level, so the 70 per cent level was arbitrarily chosen.

¹⁰ Composite rankings for analysis of data were assigned by combining the three judges' separate rankings based on total observations (see Table 3).

for one phase (ranking) for Dimension II, the data for this dimension were rejected.¹¹

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF COMPOSITE RANKINGS¹
BASED ON OBSERVER A'S RECORDS WITH
COMPOSITE RANKINGS BASED ON
OBSERVER B'S RECORDS

Dimension	No. of Leaders on Which Comparisons were Made	No. of "Perfect" Agreements ²	No. of "Relative" Agreements ³	Total Agreements ("Perfect" and "Relative")	Per Cent of Agreements ⁴
I.	7	5	1	6	85.7
II.	8	6	1	7	87.5
III.	5	5	0	5	100.0
IV.	3	2	1	3	100.0
Total	23	18	3	21	91.1

¹ "Composite Rankings" are those arrived at by combining the separate rankings made by the 3 judges.

² Instances in which the rank assigned on the basis of Observer A's records was identical with the rank assigned on the basis of Observer B's records.

³ Instances in which adjacent ranks were assigned.

⁴ Marked bunching in one or the other of the combined categories occurred in Dimensions I, III, and IV. In IV, ranks 4 and 5 received no rankings.

¹¹ Because of this rejection and other types of attrition, the tests of hypotheses involving observational data were based on a very few cases. A moderate association was found between the questionnaire responses (which were ordered into scale types) and the observed behavior of 12 of the official leaders. For Dimension I, the behavior rank of 8 of the 12 was predicted correctly while only 6 could be "best guessed" from the distribution of behavior ranks alone. For Dimension III, prediction was improved from 6 to 7. (Attrition eliminated Dimensions II and IV from this test.) If this finding holds up when larger numbers of

CONCLUSIONS

Since the field observing and recording, record classifying, and ranking operations employed in the present study could all have resulted in unreliable data, separate tests for each operation were made. The tests used for agreement in classifying and ranking are adaptations of tests well known in content analysis of various types of data. The reliability of field observing and recording (taken together) was tested by comparing the final rankings based on field records made by two different observers. It was not possible to make separate reliability tests for observing and recording.

Although details would vary, these tests could be applied to observational data in many kinds of studies. If the logic of these tests is sound, the reliability levels and numbers of observers and judges can be increased as much as necessary to achieve satisfactory testing. If the 75 and 70 per cent levels of agreements are too low, they can be raised as much as is desired. At present there is little experience on which to base the adoption of levels of agreement. It is recognized that in the present study the tests had to be based on too few observers and judges. As many observers and judges as necessary can be added.

The operations required for these tests are laborious and time-consuming, and should not be undertaken without careful assessment of the need. Perhaps it is generally most efficient to use the observational method for exploratory purposes only, but some propositions cannot be tested without observational data. Statements made on the basis of observations should be put forth as very tentative suggestions unless the various operations that produce the final data can be shown to be reliable, and this requires systematic observation.

cases are studied, (1) it should be related to those aspects of social psychological theory which concern the relation of verbal responses to (other) overt behavior, and (2) role-conception questionnaires have value in selecting persons for official leader roles.

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COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINIONS



COMMENT ON A BOOK REVIEW

I feel compelled to take issue with Professor Harry Alpert's review of Professor Donald Kent's *The Refugee Intellectual*, in the December, 1953, issue of the *Review*.

He claims that Kent's study "boasts of its scientific objectivity"; even a brief reading of the book will suffice to disclose that Professor Alpert must have some other volume in mind. He takes Kent to task for placing side by side "quotations from H. P. Fairchild and M. R. Davie without apparently being aware of the fundamental conceptual differences in the writings of these two students of American immigration." Surely this field operates on as low a level of abstraction as any in sociology. Even so, the fact that Durkheim and Weber exhibit "fundamental conceptual differences" has not resulted in American scholars being challenged when they cited both of them in the same passage.

Professor Alpert praises Davie's "excellent study of this subject" and then goes on to criticize Kent's "sampling design." To me, at least, any such weakness in Kent's book (which the author generously describes in detail) is much less evident than in Davie's. Professor Alpert regards Kent's "inadequate treatment of the problem of nonresponse" as a "serious question." Evidently he missed the passage in which Kent states that he interviewed 67 of the 319 refugees who received his questionnaire but who failed to answer it. As a matter of fact, Kent's study is one of the few in this field in which interviews were used both to check and to supplement returned questionnaires.

We have not as yet, however, come to the heart of the matter. As nearly as I can judge, the following paragraph expresses Professor Alpert's chief concern:

Some highly questionable propositions are offered as "logical" (p. 41) or as "truisms" (p. 37) or as eternal truths (p. 244). For example: "The effects of American culture upon the refugee will, of course, be greater than the effects of the refugee upon American society. *This has ever been the case with immigrants*" (italics mine). Indeed! As, for example, the effect of American Indian culture upon the first immigrants to the U. S.? To ignore so completely all that anthropology and sociology teaches on the role of relative statuses and relative cultural levels of group

contacts is inexcusable. Kent does, at one point, quote from one of Linton's acculturation studies, but apparently has missed the point.

At this point, I am afraid, Professor Alpert's indignation betrays him into quoting out of context. Kent is very much aware that many conditions changed between that time when Squanto and Samoset brought a few mangy furs and the technique of growing corn to Elder Brewster, and 1940. As Kent points out, it is only since approximately the founding of the Republic that all immigrants have clearly had the problem of seeking to integrate themselves with an established national culture. To the immigrant of the 20th century, that problem became the most important thing in his private world.

That so much of the mythology in the field of "ethnic-group relations" shies away from that problem, or that so many of the elder statesmen in sociology have parenthetically dealt with the recent immigrant in a theoretical treatise on "the multi-group society" would not have excused Kent from interpreting his evidence in any other way than that in which it clearly pointed. Kent is not in the slightest way dogmatic. The only task he set himself was to find out what happened to the recent refugee, and what the reaction of the recent refugee was to that experience.

Success or failure, hero or griper, not one of Kent's refugee informants would disagree with him that "The effects of American culture upon the refugee will, of course, be greater than the effects of the refugee upon American society." It was this unanimity of opinion among his informants, in fact, which formed his generalization. The majority accepted it. A few joyously welcomed it as a challenge. Another few, who viewed themselves as bearers of a superior culture to a barbarian frontier, were bitterly resentful.

The American sociologist may insist as much as he chooses about the polyglot composition of American society; the modern European, whether visitor or immigrant, finds a uniformity and homogeneity which may be interesting or horrible, but which nevertheless exists. Some of Kent's informants should be encouraged to write a book (if, indeed, they have not already done so). But not one of them, it seems fairly

certain, would agree with Professor Alpert's point of view. For example, the following extract from a statement made by one of Kent's informants shows a deep perception of which most native-born Americans (even sociologists) would be incapable, because of limited experience:

In America one never says "no" if he can possibly avoid it. Rather he will say "perhaps in the future," or "I'll see what I can do," or "I rather doubt," etc. This is part of the genius of America. Americans have misrepresented themselves and have been misunderstood all over the world as a forthright group of individualists. Nothing is farther from the truth. The genius of the Americans is the fact that they have mastered the art of getting along. They are born collectivists. They constantly live in groups and participate in group activities to an extent unknown anywhere else in the world. They demand and get with less conflict a greater degree of social uniformity than anywhere else. And above all each person is taught that he is to be friendly, to smile, to say kind words, and to be social. It carries over into every phase of American life. An employer never says, "No job! I don't want you. You are not able enough for this job." Rather he says: "I'm awfully sorry but right at this time we just don't have a vacancy in your line. However, we'll keep you in mind, and something may develop shortly. And we do appreciate your applying and are aware of your fine qualifications." As Europeans we left feeling elated. Our qualifications were good. He'll keep us in mind. When something develops which he thinks will be in a short time, he'll get in touch with us. When no call came, we were somewhat disillusioned. Now we recognize that this was a refusal just as much as the blunt rejection of a German employer. However, we left feeling good; not angry or bitter. Knowing that it was a refusal we would have left feeling less good, but we still would not have been angry or bitter. The American way of softening all social contacts prevents this. This is the genius of America.

This book has fared much better at the hands of reviewers who are historians than those who are sociologists. Hans Kohn, Dennis

Brogan, and Carl Wittke have been particularly appreciative. Why? Perhaps historians, on the average, preserve fewer stereotypes than do sociologists. They are usually spared training in a rigid set of attitudes toward certain areas of contemporary culture, such as the particular slant given most sociology courses in "ethnic-group relations"—to the effect that all humans are equal; but minorities are less human, because more perfect, than the majority.

Kent makes no such assumption, and partly because of this fact, behind the trappings of his professional scholarship an intensely human story is disclosed. The average American, if not some sociologists, will easily recognize the rich variety of individuals among these refugees in process of becoming fellow Americans. There are heroes and villains, the self-reliant and the alms seeker; there is courage and cowardice, modesty and arrogance. Refugees, like most people, it appears likely, can be generous and sympathetic; they can also be prejudiced and intolerant.

Finally, Kent's book has important theoretical implications. Briefly, his main thesis is this: because of a wealth of available funds, agency help, an upsurge of collective generosity toward the victims of Nazi tyranny and, most important of all, available jobs in war-time short-handed America, the refugee's success on the job and in his social world was mainly a result of the set of attitudes he brought with him to this country. It is not a sociologically popular thesis. Nevertheless, it is supported by a weight of evidence unusual in this particular field.

ARNOLD W. GREEN

The Pennsylvania State University

ADDENDUM

"Two Kinds of Crystallized Occupational Choice Behavior" by Herman M. Case (February, 1954, pp. 85-87) was sponsored by the Department of Rural Sociology of the State College of Washington and was listed as "Scientific Paper 1228 of the Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations."

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NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



REMINDER: Date for the annual meeting at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, is September 8-10, 1954.

Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective. The University of Hawaii, the University of California, and the University of Chicago are jointly sponsoring a conference on Race Relations in World Perspective to be held in Honolulu from June 28 to July 23, 1954. Funds to promote the conference have been provided by the Ford Foundation and the McNerny Foundation of Honolulu. The Steering Committee responsible for the planning of the conference consists of Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago; Herbert Blumer, the University of California; and Andrew Lind, the University of Hawaii.

Primary participants in the conference will be a group of approximately thirty scholars and experts in race relations so chosen as to bring together the best theoretical knowledge in the field, along with a thorough acquaintance with the subject in the more distinctive areas of race relations throughout the world. The conference will seek to pool the essential concrete data and analyses of race relations in different areas, as well as to evolve a conceptual framework for subsequent studies appropriate to the world-wide proportions and the critical significance of the problem.

Group Farming Research Institute. Three agencies devoted to research in the field with which the G.F.R.I. is concerned were founded during the summer of 1953. They are The Bureau d'Etudes Cooperatives et Communautaires in Paris, France; the Sektion fuer die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens of the Seminar for Cooperation at the University of Cologne, Germany; and the International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation at Geneva, Switzerland.

The Bureau d'Etudes Cooperatives et Communautaires, or B.E.C.C., was founded by the Federation of the French Communities of Work in March 1953. Its research activities extend to: (1) communitarian theory and practice, such as history of utopian socialism, workers' movements, and the history of cooperative associations; (2) industrial psychology and sociology, concerning in particular ventures in profit sharing, self-management, and industrial cooperatives; and (3) studies of interpersonal and intergroup relations, using the methods and techniques developed by the G.F.R.I. Beginning with 1954, the Bureau plans to issue a semi-annual bulletin for the Sociology of Cooperation.

The Sektion fuer die Soziologie des Genossenschaftswesens was established in July 1953. Its first project is the study of a German village in the Palatinate, Huetschenhausen, which is thought to be the first cooperative village known to exist in post-war Germany. This study is being planned as a joint enterprise with the Sociological Institute of the University and will utilize the test-battery for cooperative groups developed by the G.F.R.I. Professor René Koenig, successor to Professor von Wiese in the direction of the Sociological Institute, intends to use the application of the battery as part of a larger investigation concerned with the problem of whether, how, and to what extent research tools developed in the United States are applicable to other countries, especially to Switzerland and Germany.

The International Council for Research in the Sociology of Cooperation was established in May, 1953, and incorporated under Swiss law. The purpose of the Council is to (1) promote research in the field of sociology of cooperation; (2) stimulate exchange of findings and services among organizations and students working in this field in different countries; (3) foster the dissemination and publication of research findings in this field, including translation into different languages.

Membership in the Council is open to scientific bodies and individuals interested in this field of research. The highest authority of the Council rests with the general assembly of members. Dr. Henrik F. Infield, director of the G.F.R.I., was designated acting chairman of the Council and charged with preparing the meeting of the first general assembly in 1954. At present the membership of the Council is composed of the three active research centers—the G.F.R.I., in the United States; the B.E.C.C., France; and the Sektion, Germany. Among the social scientists who have accepted membership in the Council are Dr. N. Barou and T. B. Bottomore, London School of Economics; H. C. Desroche, Attaché au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and J. Chleq, President of B.E.C.C.; Dr. G. Weisser and Dr. R. Koenig, University of Cologne; Dr. A. Tartakower, Hebrew University; Dr. Adriano Olivetti, head of the Movimento Comunità, Rome; Dr. E. Steineman, Director of the Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv, Zurich, and A. Meister, University of Geneva; and E. A. Norman, President of the G.F.R.I., and Dr. J. Maier, Rutgers University.

These members also act as editors for the respective languages and countries of the *International Library of the Sociology of Cooperation*, which, in line with the purposes of the Council, forms its first major project.

Merrill-Palmer School. Aaron L. Rutledge is the new head of The Marriage and Family Counseling Service at Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit. The announcement of Merrill-Palmer scholarships and fellowships for the 1954-1955 session is available upon request.

The Florida State University. Lewis Killian has been serving the National Research Council as a consultant to the Committee on Disaster Research. He has prepared research reports on the Houston, Texas, fireworks explosion of June, 1953, and the Warner-Robins, Georgia, tornado disaster. He has also prepared a memorandum on military assistance to civilian communities in disaster.

William F. Ogburn, visiting professor, was the dinner speaker at the annual meeting of the Florida Academy of Sciences held at Rollins College, December, 1953.

John L. Haer is directing a study of community satisfaction as related to social class and migrant status, under a grant from the University Research Council.

M. F. Nimkoff has been named Editor of *Marriage and Family Living*, Journal of the National Council on Family Relations. Robert McGinnis has been named Book Review Editor.

Richard Klemmer, who received his Ph.D. in June, 1953, has become chairman of the sociology department at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia.

Theodore Johannis and Stanley Fowler, candidates for the Ph.D. degree in the Interdivisional Program in Marriage and Family Living, have accepted teaching positions at the University of Oregon and Mississippi Southern College, respectively.

Human Resources Research Institute. Stuart N. Adams and George W. Baker are Program Officers of the research staff, not Assistant Program Officers as reported in the February, 1954, issue. *The Review* was incorrectly informed about this.

The Johns Hopkins University. Robert C. Sorensen has been granted a leave of absence from the Johns Hopkins University, Operations Research Office, to join the Munich office of RADIO FREE EUROPE. He is Chief, Audience Research Section. His address is APO 108, c/o Postmaster, New York, New York.

Lincoln University. The second annual meeting of Missouri Sociologists will be held at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, on Saturday, October 2, 1954. All those interested are invited to attend. Sessions begin with an informal coffee hour at nine o'clock. The main morning session will include research reports by Oliver Cox of Lincoln University, Robert McNamara of the University of Missouri, and W. D. Bryant of Community Studies of Kansas City. There will be an afternoon student session on occupational opportunities for sociologists, with speakers from the Missouri Division of Welfare and the Personnel Division of the State Department of Business and Administration. At the same time the faculty session will be discussing the sociology major, on the basis of a survey by R. Clyde Minor of Lincoln

University. A joint student-faculty session will conclude the meetings.

Louisiana State University. Homer L. Hitt, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, has recently been appointed clinical professor of preventive medicine at the Louisiana State University School of Medicine. He served as chairman of the Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers in 1953-54.

Vernon J. Parenton, Paul H. Price, and Roland J. Pellegrin served as special lecturers in the Neuro-Psychiatry Residency Program of the Louisiana State University School of Medicine during the first semester of 1953-54.

Alvin L. Bertrand and Paul H. Price are serving as special lecturers in the Louisiana State University English Language and Orientation Program for foreign students.

The department of sociology has been awarded a grant by the Louisiana Heart Association to study the knowledge and attitudes of Louisianians relative to heart disease. Alvin L. Bertrand has been appointed supervisor of this project, and Clarence A. Storla is project leader.

Marion B. Smith spent the summer of 1953 in Panama as special lecturer in the University's Armed Forces Caribbean Area Program. While there he did research on the marriage and family customs of the San Blas Indians living on small islands off the coast of Panama.

Rudolf Heberle has been invited to present a paper at the World Population Conference to be held in Rome August 31 through September 10, 1954. In connection with his research on displaced persons Dr. Heberle has been elected a member of the European Association for the Study of the Refugee Problem. The headquarters of this association is in Strasbourg, France.

University of Minnesota. Henry W. Riecken, formerly lecturer on social psychology and research associate in the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University, has been appointed associate professor of sociology at the university's Laboratory for Research in Social Relations at Minnesota.

Oberlin College. James B. McKee has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor.

Maurice Stein, formerly of Dartmouth College, has joined the department as instructor for the year 1953-54.

George E. Simpson has returned from a seven-month field trip to Jamaica where he made a study of religious and political cults.

Richard R. Myers and M. Milton Yinger are on sabbatical leaves for the second semester of 1953-54. Both are in Florida engaged on writing projects.

Ohio Wesleyan University. Robert W. O'Brien will be leaving the university in August to be the new chairman of the sociology department at Whittier College. Dr. O'Brien has been awarded a Ford Faculty Fellowship to teach in the Seven College Intercollegiate Graduate Program under

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Saint Louis University. Gerald J. Schnepf, S.M., professor of sociology, will leave Saint Louis University after August, 1954. He is being replaced by Jack H. Curtis and Allen Spitzer as of September, 1954. The other members of the department are Clement S. Mihanovich, director, Laurence McHattie, S.J., and John L. Thomas, S.J.

From June 14 to June 19, 1954, the department is offering an Institute on Meeting the Problems of Aging. The invited lecturers include Wilma Donahue, Arthur Gravatt, George E. Johnson, Clark Tibbitts, Ollie Randall, and Jerome Kaplan.

In June of 1955, the department is planning an Institute on Teaching Sociology.

Tulane University. Forrest E. LaViolette is spending the spring semester at the University of California at Los Angeles, giving courses in minority groups. His place is being taken by Carl A. Dawson.

Leonard Reissman has been invited to participate in the interdisciplinary seminar on occupational choice during the summer at Ohio State University, under the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Council.

William L. Kolb is giving a paper at the conference sponsored by the Social Science Research Council and the Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change of the University of Chicago.

The first phase of a follow-up study of "The Children of Bondage," originally done by Allison Davis and John Dollard, has commenced at the Urban Life Research Institute on a mental health grant from the U. S. Public Health Service. John H. Rohrer is director of the study; Munro S. Edmonson, field director; Harold Lief and William Thompson, the staff psychiatrists; Daniel C. Thompson of Dillard University, the staff sociologist; and Mrs. Edward Hart, the psychiatric social worker on the staff. Some 45 of the original 76 subjects are to be restudied, as well as about 50 of their children.

Thomas Ktsanes, an instructor in the department, will teach at Northwestern University this summer.

Robert Lystad gave a paper at the conference, sponsored by the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council, at Princeton.

Vanderbilt University. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. presented a paper at the First Bicentennial Conference of Columbia University.

During the past year Emilio Willems participated in an international symposium on Contributions of Immigrant Groups to the Cultures of Adoptive Countries sponsored by UNESCO and the International Sociological Association. Professor Willems also participated in the Fourth Caribbean Conference at Gainesville, Florida.

University of Wisconsin. Hans H. Gerth is on leave for the second semester of 1953-54 as visiting professor at Brandeis University. During

the summer he will lecture at Columbia University.

Thomas D. Eliot of Northwestern University is visiting lecturer for the current semester.

Orville G. Brim, Jr. was appointed assistant professor.

John L. Gillin has been made a member of the Committee on Revision of the Model Probation and Parole Act of the National Probation and Parole Association.

Howard Becker has been appointed to the Committee on Relations with Sociologists of other Countries of the American Sociological Society. Dr. Becker is doing research on the interrelations of mentality and social structure in selected Hessian villages.

William H. Sewell is President-Elect of the Rural Sociological Society, President of the Sociological Research Association, and a member of the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council.

Douglas G. Marshall is now Secretary of the North Central Regional Committee on Population Research.

John L. Miller is Secretary-Treasurer for the Association for Advancement of Instruction about Alcohol and Narcotics.

John H. Kolb is studying social trends in country neighborhoods and in town-country relationships.

Lyle W. Shannon is working on a study of the non-self-governing political entity, relating 50 variables to the criterion: self-government or non-self-government.

OBITUARIES

Carl Kelsey, 1870-1953

Carl Kelsey died at his home in Mendenhall, Pennsylvania, on October 15, 1953. He was born at Grinnell, Iowa, on September 2, 1870, was graduated from Iowa (now Grinnell) College in 1890, served as a teacher in the high school at Marshalltown, Iowa, entered the Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, in 1892, and completed his studies there in 1895. After a year spent in social work in Helena, Montana, he went to Germany for two years, studying at the universities in Berlin and Göttingen. On his return, he again held social work positions in Buffalo and Boston, and from 1898 to 1901 he was engaged in child welfare work in Chicago, Illinois, where he was an assistant to Hastings H. Hart and participated in the drafting of the Illinois Juvenile Court Law of 1899. After graduate study at the University of Pennsylvania he received a doctorate in 1903 and an appointment as instructor in sociology. Promoted to assistant professor in 1904 and professor in 1906 he remained until his retirement as emeritus professor in 1941. From 1904 to 1913 he directed the summer sessions of the New York School of Philanthropy, in 1914 and 1915 he taught in the summer sessions at the University of California, and in 1923 in the summer session at the University of Washington.

In 1921, Professor Kelsey received the first Academy Research Fellowship awarded by the American

Academy of Political and Social Science and as recipient of this award he spent nine months in Haiti and the Dominican Republic preparing a report on the American intervention in these countries which was printed as a supplement to the *Annals*, March 1922. Except for this work and his doctoral dissertation on *The Negro Farmer*, Professor Kelsey published only one book, a work on *The Physical Basis of Society* (1916, 1928) which contained the substance of his lectures on that subject.

THORSTEN SELLIN

University of Pennsylvania

James Pendleton Lichtenberger, 1870-1953

James P. Lichtenberger, emeritus professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania, since 1940, died on March 17, 1953. He was born at Decatur, Illinois, on June 10, 1870. His undergraduate training was received at Eureka College, Illinois, where he was graduated in 1893. He entered the ministry in the Church of the Disciples of Christ and held a pastorate at Canton, Illinois, from 1896 to 1899, when he was transferred to Buffalo, New York, where he stayed until 1902, the year he received an A.M. degree from Hiram College, Ohio. His next pastorate was in New York City where he had a congregation until 1908. From 1908 to 1909 he held a fellowship in the New York School of Philanthropy and the same year he received his doctor's degree under Giddings at Columbia University. At the New York School of Philanthropy he had become acquainted with Carl Kelsey, then

professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and director of the summer session at the New York School. This led to his being invited to accept a professorship at the University of Pennsylvania in the fall of 1909, where he remained from that time on except for a year or two in the 1920's when he served as visiting professor at the University of Washington or made a trip around the world.

In 1923, Professor Lichtenberger published a book on the *Development of Social Theory*, which grew out of his lectures on that subject and was for many years widely used as a text or for collateral reading in courses on the history of social thought. In 1931, he published a book on *Divorce*, which was essentially a revision of his doctoral dissertation. He edited several volumes of the *Annals* between 1912 and 1918, and served as the secretary of the American Academy of Political and Social Science from 1912 to his death. In 1922 he was president of the American Sociological Society.

THORSTEN SELLIN

University of Pennsylvania

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The *Review* has just received word that E. George Payne of Pleasant Point, Knox County, Maine, a Life member of the Society, died on June 28, 1953. Dr. Payne taught at Harris Teachers College, 1910-1916, at New York University, 1922-1938, and was founder and for a time Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*.

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BOOK REVIEWS



Communication and Persuasion: Psychological Studies of Opinion Change. By CARL I. HOVLAND, IRVING L. JANIS, and HAROLD H. KELLEY. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. xii, 315 pp. \$4.50.

This interim report on the Yale Communication Research Program is addressed to the sociologist, as well as to the psychologist. It has been heralded by recent journal publication of a wide variety of studies, among which the provocative Kelley-Volkhart piece on group-anchored attitudes appeared in these pages (17, pp. 453-465). Although the thirty members of the cooperative study group are mainly psychologists, they include sociologists and anthropologists also. The broad objective of their research program is to understand "the ways in which words and symbols influence people" (p. 1); and their present preoccupation with "a psychological analysis of social influence" (p. 2) is designed to lead ultimately to the integration of sociology, psychology, and other social sciences in a "general theory of communication" (p. 3).

Within such a framework, the present volume summarizes a considerable number of experiments ingeniously designed to isolate and observe key factors in persuasive communication. Typically, a captive audience is exposed to a specially constructed communication, and any opinion changes in audience or control group are measured by successive anonymous questionnaires. The authors use the preliminary findings to provide an initial framework for subsequent theory building.

These findings are presented in terms of the familiar Lasswellian formula of *who* says *what* to *whom* with *what* effect (p. 12). First, a chapter on the communicator selects for special treatment the question of his trustworthiness or expertness as this may relate to acceptance of his message. Next, several aspects of the content which may affect acceptance are considered and interesting research results are reported on such points as: limitations on the effectiveness of strong fear appeals, the relation between the complexity of the issue and the persuasiveness of conclusion-drawing by the communicator, the value of presenting both sides of the argument if the audience is to be exposed to subsequent counter-propaganda, and the like. Third, the

influence of communication is dealt with in relation to the motivational predispositions of the audience. Data are obtained, for example, which fit the hypothesis that persons who value their membership in a group most highly are most apt to resist communications which run counter to the standards of that group. Finally, two chapters analyze special aspects of the effect of communication. Effect is defined in terms of opinion as an "implicit response" or "intervening variable" (p. 7). Overt verbalization of an opinion, induced by role playing, is found to relate to inner acceptance, for instance; and possible explanations are sought for the "sleeping effect" of a message which seems to produce increasing opinion change over time.

In short, a wide range of testable propositions is presented. Among them, a number which seem to view the communicative act within a framework of social interaction are of particular interest to the sociologist. On the one hand, a possible interactive relationship between the receiver of the message and the communicator is suggested at various points in the analysis. The authors indicate, for instance, that an obvious, but little investigated, factor in communication effect consists of "attitudes toward the communicator and the cues which elicit them" (p. 47). On the other hand, account is frequently taken of the various membership and reference groups with which the communicatee normally interacts. While the experiments are ordinarily controlled so as to exclude interaction among members of the audience, the anticipation of social rewards or punishments is emphasized as one of the key factors operating to increase or decrease acceptance of a new opinion (p. 292). It is the avowed belief of the authors that "the basic principles derived from studying *one-way communications* will prove applicable also to the type of persuasion involved in group discussions and in psychotherapy, even though additional propositions concerning face-to-face *interaction* effects will also be required" (p. 5, italics supplied).

The sociologist who studies this volume may perhaps question, however, the adequacy of the present Yale theoretical scheme for investigating the responses of the communicatee in the interactive situation. Some of the difficul-

ties which the authors encounter in developing a comprehensive theory (p. 3) might perhaps be mitigated through adaptation of various approaches not cited in the book. Hullian learning theory might well be supplemented by Cottrell's situational emphasis or Sears' dyadic approach, for example; Freudian hypotheses by the interactive conceptions of Sullivan; Lewinian experimental design by elements of Bales' interactive process analysis. The development of a clearly articulated overall theory might also be facilitated by use of a system model, such as that of Homans or Parsons. The Parsons model in particular posits an interdependence among individual perceptions and motivations, the social system as a system, and those values which have a place in the functioning of both the personality and the social system. It deals with interaction as process, process occurring in a group which is neither reified nor conceived as a mere aggregation of discrete individuals.

Consideration of an interactive model of this sort, in place of the one-way who-to-whom model, indicates some additional types of propositions which may be required in any comprehensive theory of communication. Many of these are suggested at various points in the text, to be sure, but not explicitly built into the theory or incorporated in the typical experimental design. For example, the relationship between private opinion and social action seems to need further specification. Although the authors discuss the connection between private opinion, on the one hand, and attitude (pp. 7 ff.), social expression of opinion (pp. 8, 145, 168), and behavior (p. 10), on the other hand, they pay primary attention to private opinion as such. Even in the individual's "imaginative rehearsal" (p. 289), the emphasis seems to be more on "What do I believe?" than on "What shall I say or do?" Yet a complete model of social interaction can scarcely be obtained by combining *A*'s effect on *B*'s private opinion with *B*'s effect on *A*'s private opinion. The very question of social sanctions in which the authors evince such interest can scarcely be fully explored if private opinion alone is taken into account (cf. p. 300). It is, rather, the overt reaction of the child to the mother's persuasion, or the overt reaction of the listener to Kate Smith's radio appeals, which in turn elicits the approval or disapproval of the communicator. What is the place of a specific private opinion in the ongoing process of interaction between mother and child, between Kate Smith and her regular listeners?

Because of this preoccupation with private

opinion without reference to action, the Yale program is not immediately concerned with another type of communication, the effect of which may not be mediated through verbal processes or significantly reflected in opinion at all. Such "expressive" communication is designed not so much to persuade the listener as to change his affective relationships. At the same time, it may result indirectly in action change, as when the reader imitates the fiction hero. Here the relationship between private opinion and social action is of a different order, and seems to require quite another approach.

Moreover, the use of an interactive model might help to clarify the place of values in the Yale scheme. The authors discuss internalization (pp. 281 ff.), as well as the possible reinforcement brought about by public commitment to an opinion (p. 128). The crucial place of values in defining role relationships within the social system is not spelled out, however. Thus it is not clear that the anticipation of social sanctions, so central in the Yale formulation, is based in part upon such institutionalization of values: the child knows what reward to expect from the mother, not only because of general past experience with what is "right," but also because of the normative patterns of action and reaction which have grown up in this specific relationship. Furthermore, the role system of any group contains, in addition to the similarities which are emphasized in the present studies (p. 135), marked differentiations among the roles. Ultimately, attention must be paid to the proposition that differences in status or function within the group may mean, in addition to differential commitment to the same opinion (p. 154), the espousal of different opinions as well. As Newcomb puts it, the several members often agree to differ.

In sum, the Yale scheme will ultimately benefit, as the authors themselves suggest, by the addition of propositions obtainable from a model of interaction. Certain of the present propositions may also require revision when each communicative act is scrutinized as a step in an ongoing process, and when the possible interdependence of the several aspects of this process is further taken into account. The theoretical integration implied in this impressive report as it now stands, however, goes far beyond what Sherif calls the mere extrapolation of interaction from the characteristics of individuals viewed in isolation. Sociologists will study and test the substantive findings of these experiments with great profit, though perhaps they will view with even keener interest the

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MATILDA WHITE RILEY

Rutgers University

Group Relations at the Crossroads: The University of Oklahoma Lectures in Social Psychology. Edited by MUZAFER SHERIF and M. O. WILSON. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953. viii, 379 pp. \$4.00.

This volume contains the papers from the second Conference in Social Psychology at the University of Oklahoma, in 1952. It follows the general pattern of the earlier work, *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, reviewing many of the same topics, though with fewer and more extensive papers this time. Although the term, "group," is liberally sprinkled throughout the chapter titles, no special field of "group relations" is delineated and the papers could just as well have been subsumed under any one of several other broad titles. In general the emphasis is substantive rather than methodological. The caliber of the contributors is such as to make this volume an important reference work, regardless of its other merits and defects.

The book begins with a preview chapter by Sherif containing brief discourses on each of the papers and some general comments about group relations and interdisciplinary research. There follow five chapters on biological bases, on concepts in communication, and on social perception. A historical review of small-group research is followed by papers on interaction theory, reference group theory, and conformity theory. Leadership, social distance, public opinion, and sociometry complete the chapters.

There seems to have been no consistent pattern for the various papers. Several papers attempt to summarize the development and present state of research in a particular field. John P. Scott and Roscoe B. Jackson present an excellent and comprehensive summary of social behavior among animals, with careful attention to the limitations in generalizing to human behavior. Anne Anastasi proficiently brings her readers up to date on psychological differences between cultural and racial groups. Robert E. L. Faris reviews the literature on the primary group, its creation, internal dynamics, and functions. Launor Carter summarizes recent research on leadership in small groups, though with principal emphasis on research techniques and the operationalist's disdain of anchoring research in a body of theoretically relevant concepts. Helen Jennings summarizes sociometric findings concerning the

"choice process," though stressing largely her own work.

Several papers are attempts to develop a guiding theory and specify its implications for actual research. Leon Festinger makes an excellent statement of the conditions under which public conformity will and will not be accompanied by private acceptance, using it to interpret several extant studies. Nelson Foote and Clyde Hart propose a genetic model of the process of public opinion formation as a basis for posing dynamic hypotheses in this field. Both of these papers are important contributions in their respective areas. James Gibson presents a carefully developed theory of perception, but one whose internal consistency is achieved by playing ostrich to much of the recent work in the field and by avoiding the crucial problem of how objectively different sense data are perceived as representations of the same object.

Three papers, all by sociologists, are primarily critical or argumentative. Mozell Hill points out some commonplace inadequacies in the study of social distance but remains vague in his positive contributions. Anselm Strauss argues for appreciating the role of symbols in behavior. And Herbert Blumer presents a careful but overly brief argument for the position that the only interaction theory which fits reality is that built about the social "transaction" as described by G. H. Mead. Parenthetically it is disappointing that in an interdisciplinary conference sociologists should have been so overrepresented in the substantially negative and special pleading type of paper.

The two remaining papers consist of a series of queries and reflections on social perception by Gardner Murphy and a discussion of the reference group concept by Sherif. Of special interest is Sherif's proposal for a more delimited use of the term reference group and his discussion of concept of the marginal man in terms of reference group.

Presumably the justification for such a conference as this must lie in its interdisciplinary aspects, and so the measure of its success is to be taken from the evidences of integration. It is disappointing to note the degree to which each author has stayed within the confines of his own discipline in citing references and the degree to which the same ideas appear in different papers employing entirely different terminology. The most distressing example is the profusion of sociometric jargon used by Helen Jennings. Her findings are indeed exciting to a sociologist, chiefly because at least half of them are clever empirical substantiation of long-standing hypotheses from the traditional sociological literature on

the primary group. But no recognition of their antecedents is given and an entire language must be learned before their significance can be recognized. Sherif offers little in the direction of integration beyond a suggestion that the concept "definition of the situation" should be replaced by "social perception" because the latter is experimentally substantiated. Being a regular user of both of the concepts, the reviewer can little comprehend how the two could be regarded as coterminous, nor can he understand how anyone acquainted with W. I. Thomas' work could feel that his concept was not empirically grounded.

The work as a whole fails to contribute either to the delimitation of a research field of "group relations" or to an interdisciplinary integration. The merit of the book, then, lies in the several excellent individual articles it contains.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Who Shall Survive? (revised edition). By J. L. MORENO. New York: Beacon House, Inc., 1953. cxiv, 763 pp. \$10.00.

The revised edition of the now classic *Who Shall Survive?* has been greatly enlarged, and is in many ways a new book. In contrast to the first edition, it does not keep philosophy and objective investigation discrete. Rather, Moreno deliberately explores his own motivations and the historical perspective. A good part of the new book (about 95 pages) is devoted to the "Preludes of the Sociometric Movement," an autobiographical account of Moreno's position in social science and psychiatry. This account may hurt the sensitivities of those who feel that an author's personality should be kept out of a book, especially if the author does not tend to modesty. It will hurt the sensitivities of some even more when they find that Moreno is quite facile and candid in naming friends and enemies, and in producing withering (though often humorous) criticism of positions he feels incompatible to his own. On the other hand, some may find his openness quite refreshing in this age of subtlety and practiced professional politeness. Whatever the response, if these things should discourage the reader, it will have been the reader's loss.

The first edition was subtitled "A new approach to the problem of human interrelations," and the first sentence of the book was: "A true therapeutic procedure cannot have less an objective than the whole of mankind." After a short introduction the text became a sociometric analysis of groups, and

the analysis, with the exposition of method employed, constituted the bulk of the book.

In the new edition, the first sentence remains materially the same, but the exposition has been considerably reoriented. Here Moreno elaborates the meaning of his cryptic first sentence more fully, indicating the relationship of planning to therapy, of planning to science. A more general elaboration is to be found in his discussion of spontaneity and creativity, which is in essence a forward presentation of his philosophical outlook.

The subtitle of the second edition is: "Foundations of sociometry, group psychotherapy and sociodrama," and the major orientation is methodological. The study of the Hudson community remains, but it has now been woven into the general exposition on method. Most techniques of analysis used are those easily applicable, and there has been no serious attempt to utilize the more special and restrictive approaches of matrix analysis.

Moreno pays considerable attention to presenting his techniques for investigation in focus, particularly the sociometric test, which he feels has been grossly misused at times. In this edition he defines the sociometric test of a group as one that "... measures the conflict between the actual structure of a group which the members maintain at the time when the test is given against the structure of the group as revealed by their choices" (p. 719). This unfamiliar definition is probably prompted by the fact that most investigators have observed only the choice structure of the group rather than to observe the choice structure in the context of the operating structure as was Moreno's original emphasis. Considerably more attention is given to "action techniques," in particular to role playing and observation of actual behavior. In this connection Moreno has added examples of several types of interaction diagrams.

While group psychotherapy is in the subtitle, the coverage in this area is largely by showing the value of sociometric analysis for group psychotherapy. Moreno reiterates his position in regard to therapy quite emphatically, and in almost the same words as in the first edition. "It (group psychotherapy) treats not only the individual who is the focus of attention because of maladjustment, but the entire group of individuals who are interrelated with him in the community." This basic orientation is, incidentally, largely the source of Moreno's difference with the Freudians. A second point of difference with the Freudians is Moreno's emphasis on involvement and direct modification of behavior, especially as found in psy-

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chodramatic techniques (role playing, role reversal, etc.), on one hand, and on the reconstitution of groups on the other.

In a section titled "The sociometric system and advanced sociometric theory," Moreno presents some now classical materials on chance configurations and re-grouping previously published in article form, as well as previously published and unpublished comments on current trends in sociometry.

A section titled "General hypotheses and recommendations for further research" may serve as a summary of the test for some, and as the source of useful hypotheses to others. It is at this point that readers will realize that if they have had difficulty with the text, one reason is that Moreno traverses levels of abstraction with the greatest of ease. Reading the general hypotheses will show such diverging levels as: "Mankind is a social and organic unity." And, "The lower the sociometric status of individuals, the lower is the volume of words expected and accepted from them by other members in the groups."

The style of writing used by Moreno is clear and simple, save for the use of words he has coined which are as yet unfamiliar (tele, sociosia, bioatry, axiodrama, etc.). Other words he has coined and fostered are better known (sociometry, group therapy, group psychotherapy, psychodrama, roleplaying, situation test, etc.). A bibliography of some fourteen hundred items is included which is primarily concerned with the areas of sociometry, micro-sociology and group psychotherapy.

This book does not make easy reading. This may be due to the fact that Moreno presents enough ideas to fill several volumes but frequently does not follow through with their analysis, and, further, because he encompasses problems in parallel at different levels, switching back and forth. These difficulties are minor, however, in comparison to the benefit which can be derived from this unique book, or no serious student of sociology, psychology, or psychiatry can afford not to read it.

EDGAR F. BORGATTA

Harvard University

The Therapeutic Community: A New Treatment Method in Psychiatry. By MAXWELL JONES. New York: Basic Books Incorporated, 1953. xxi, 186 pp. \$3.50.

This book, published in England under the title, *Social Psychiatry*, may prove to be a landmark in the development of and experimentation with a new form of psychiatric treat-

ment. I say, "may prove to be," because the work reported here is still in an experimental stage, and much more evidence will be necessary before psychiatric therapists can count on their capability to construct new controlled climates which will be curative for neurotic patients. For this is exactly what Dr. Jones and his colleagues have attempted to do as a result of their experience with two such communities for mental patients which were developed during the last war. The efforts reported here grew out of the frank recognition, which has been documented by certain British and American studies, that the traditional mental hospital has evolved a culture of its own which, in general, operates adversely with respect to the therapy of patients. Consequently, Dr. Jones and his colleagues have recognized the necessity to start at the beginning. This they were able to do with the establishment of an Industrial Neuroses Unit at Belmont Hospital, where they attempted to build a culture involving both staff and patients which would be therapeutically helpful to the patients.

This Unit was opened in April, 1947 with one hundred patients and had the backing of the Ministers of Health, Labor, and Pensions. Its central focus was to study the problem of the chronic unemployed neurotic. The staff was comprised of four psychiatrists, one social worker, two psychiatric social workers, two disablement resettlement officers, five occupational instructors, one research technician and twenty nurses. The workshop in the Neuroses Unit provided work experience in hairdressing, tailoring, plastering, carpentry, and brick-laying, under conditions which attempted to approximate the work conditions or situations to which patients eventually might be assigned. The therapeutic program of the Unit, in addition to routine medical treatment and existing psychiatric treatments, tried to create a therapeutically favorable culture through small discussion groups employing psychodrama techniques and involving patients, doctors and nurses. The psychodrama differed from Moreno's efforts in that the element of spontaneity was not emphasized, but rather the patients wrote, produced, and acted their own plays which generally stressed certain experiences in their past lives. In addition to these social devices, the patient spent two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon in one of the workshops where he received some industrial training. It is perhaps worth noting that the British psychiatric team includes a person never found in its American counterpart, namely, a rehabilitation officer who works closely with industry in order to place a discharged patient in a regular job. Patients stayed at the hospital, as a rule, no longer than

six months. On discharge the patient was placed in a specific job, and in London he had the opportunity of becoming a member of Ex-Patients Club which attempted to continue the ego support which he had had in the hospital.

As one might expect, there were many problems which the staff confronted in attempting to create a new cultural climate for neurotic patients, particularly in the traditionally hallowed areas of nurse-patient, doctor-patient, and doctor-nurse relationships. For one change, successful efforts were made to abolish contacts between doctors and patients in offices and on wards and to meet this traditional need through the various discussion groups. These groups discussed such things as the social issues of the day, the patient's own personal problem, and the patient's behavior in relation to staff members or patients. An attempt was made to secure nurses who had social science training in order that they might more easily abandon their traditional role and participate more freely in the efforts to create a new hospital culture.

The experimental attitude present in these efforts is seen in the attempt to measure the results of patient treatment after six months of discharge. During the period under examination, 247 patients were treated in the Unit and it was possible to follow up 103 of them. They found that 44 per cent of these ex-patients had made a satisfactory adjustment, 22 per cent fair and 34 per cent poor. They were unable to determine how significant these percentages might be, for while they had planned to use a control group of neurotic patients who had not received the benefits of the Unit, the controls provided by the Disablement Resettlement Office were not suitable for matching with the original cases. The results certainly appear to be unusual considering the fact that the center was dealing with chronic neurotics, numerous psychopathic personalities, and chronic trouble-makers who generally came from essentially poor home situations and were generally considered to be untreatable and unemployable.

As I have indicated above, a final assessment of these results cannot easily be made now. A more certain judgment will have to await a more careful and rigorous comparison between this new type of therapeutic community and the older type of mental hospital where the traditional and authoritative relationships hold sway.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud. Vol I. 1856-1900. The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries. By ERNEST JONES. New York: Basic Books, 1953. xiv, 428 pp. \$6.75.

This book, by a disciple and personal friend of Freud in his latter years, when completed will doubtless stand next to Freud's own writings as the basic source on the early history of psychoanalysis. As biography, this volume is the most exhaustive, meticulous, and judicious study of Freud that is likely ever to appear. Of particular interest is the account of Freud's young manhood, until now a virtual blank, made possible by Jones' access to the hitherto unreleased courtship letters of Freud to Martha Bernays, later his wife.

Jones forces on his readers, even those previously committed to depreciate Freud's contribution, an inescapable admiration for Freud the man. Until old age Freud was poverty-stricken, at times to the point of actual hunger for himself and his numerous relatives, yet he remained the dedicated searcher for truth. He stood alone, defied Vienna, the medical profession, and a hostile press. The other two giants of the 19th century, Marx and Darwin, each capitalized the accepted work of predecessors and were granted an audience. Freud never had the first, and the second was denied him until his basic work was completed. His life is a saga of an almost unique intellectual and moral courage.

As a disciple, however, Jones never raises one controversy that has recently troubled even some orthodox psychoanalysts, and that is the validity or the romantic subjectivity of Freud's conceptual scheme. In a footnote on page 358, Jones remarks, without comment and apparently without awareness of a significant issue, that Freud often forgot and later remembered "a piece of insight." All the great scientific discoveries at some point involved "insight," but the juxtaposition and sequence of data then "fell into a pattern" that did not shift, fade and recur, with the moods and personal experiences of the observer.

The argument *ad hominem* always tends to viciousness. In this case, however, it can hardly be avoided. Sears, for example, has demonstrated that Freud's major formulations, e.g., the universal psycho-sexual structure, can neither be proved nor disproved, but must be either accepted on faith as an intrinsic part of an entire system or dismissed. Further, recall that another disciple of Freud, Adler, once screamed at Freud that he (Freud)

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should be psychoanalyzed in order to discover the unconscious motives for Freud's persistent errors of psychoanalytic interpretation. It must then be admitted that Freud's own statements on the primacy of the pre-conscious and the unconscious in determining thought sequences make his own system vulnerable to autobiographical interpretation.

To Jones, however, that system is revealed truth. The elements for an autobiographical explanation are exhaustively detailed—Freud's psychoneurosis, his Oedipus complex, his puritanism, hatred for his father, his magnificent "will-to-power," and most important of all, "the distant goal of a philosophy of life which would end all his restless curiosity and uncertainties." Unlike Jung, Adler, Wittels, the Bernfelds, and Helen Puner, however, Jones keeps Freud and Freudianism separate and distinct. He does keep them parallel, so that in one sense he fulfills the promise of his preface, to relate Freud's "personality and the experiences of his life to the development of his ideas." What Jones persistently avoids is any attempt to *explain* Freudianism in terms of Freud. We have no right to expect that he should. Only the disciples turned heretic have done that.

This book will be of little interest to those unacquainted with Freud's writings. Jones assumes a thorough knowledge of them, and supplies no "convenient summarization" of the "key ideas." His main purpose in this volume is to trace the history of Freud's study of the human mind, the gradual (never completed) abandonment of attempts to trace psychic experience back to neurological function in favor of positing relative autonomy in psychic experience.

The forthcoming volume will deal with what Jones calls the philosophy of Freud. It should be of even greater value to sociologists. When Freud abandoned hope that psychoanalysis could cure, his life-long yearning to play the role of prophet appeared in *The Future of an Illusion*, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, and *Moses and Monotheism*. Whatever quarrel may be taken with Freud's only too obvious megalomania, these books, especially the second, raise very important and specifically sociological issues that have been generally ignored by sociologists.

ARNOLD W. GREEN

The Pennsylvania State University

The Social Theories of Harry Stack Sullivan.

By DOROTHY R. BLITSTEN. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1953. 186 pp. \$3.50.

In spite of the increasing interest during the past two decades in the work of Harry Stack Sullivan, sociologists generally have not been too familiar with his views. Outsiders were restricted to *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* and articles in infrequently consulted sources, while only those fortunate enough to work with him benefited from his continually developing formulations. Since his death, with the publication of his lectures and numerous commentaries, a wider audience is at last getting a fuller picture of his work. As a psychiatrist, Sullivan was concerned with many problems of limited concern to sociologists; therefore, Dr. Blitsten's book, which summarizes those portions of his work of interest to social scientists, is most welcome. Sullivan's work is a veritable lode of ideas, but three points invite special comment.

Although the concept of "social interaction" has become a household term in the social sciences and sociologists speak of society as existing in and through communication, there is evidence that the implications of this point of view for the study of human group life are not fully appreciated. In the writings of Sullivan one finds perhaps the most explicit statement of an orientation developed by Cooley, Mead, Park, Sapir, and Simmel. Those who identify Sullivan with other "neo-Freudians" engaging in "culture and personality" studies would do well to examine more carefully his concept of "consensual validation." Society is regarded as existing in the perspectives of men, which are continuously tested in action in interpersonal situations. Thus, culture patterns, far from being "determinants" of behavior, are regarded as being constructed and sustained in acts which are communicative in their function. Culture patterns are discernible when there are regularities in behavior, and the social process is a successive reaffirmation of perspectives in interpersonal transactions.

Central in Sullivan's scheme of analysis is consideration of the self-system, a symbolic integration of a person's experiences. Like G. H. Mead, Sullivan believed that the organization of conduct depends in large measure upon one's awareness of his own performances and the reactions of others. Since perception is selective and awareness is necessarily restricted by anxiety, however, men are selectively inattentive to anything that may threaten self-esteem. In his emphasis upon "security

operations" in maintaining the limits of self-awareness Sullivan's work constitutes an important advance over Mead's formulation. Indeed, Sullivan's work suggests a fruitful frame of reference within which the vast reservoir of descriptive insights provided by psychiatrists may be integrated with those of students like Mead.

Amid the heated methodological strife which characterizes contemporary social science, Sullivan's views about the study of human society provide a sober warning. He points out that in the study of many problems the observer himself becomes the chief instrument used in the assembling of data. Interviewing is an interpersonal situation, and the security needs of the participants significantly affect the nature of the data recorded. Accordingly, the systematic analysis of the context in which observations are made becomes necessary. What is needed is a sophisticated recognition of the difficulties inherent in social science research to replace the bland recitation of slogans about objectivity.

Drawing materials from diverse sources, rewording obscure passages, summarizing long arguments, and organizing the materials systematically, Dr. Blitsten has provided an admirable digest of Sullivan's views. This volume, along with the recently published *Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry*, certainly merits the careful attention of all students of society.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI

University of California, Berkeley

Other People's Money: A Study in the Social Psychology of Embezzlement. By DONALD R. CRESSEY. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953. 191 pp. \$3.00.

This study, like Lindesmith's *Opiate Addiction*, utilizes Znaniecki's method of analytic induction in that it seeks to establish some universal propositions about "trust violators." Cressey uses this sociological term since he found legal terms, such as embezzlement, to be unsatisfactory definitions for behavioral analysis. Four preliminary hypotheses were set up to explain the behavior of such violators but after checking them with cases of trust violation each was discarded because there were exceptions. A fifth hypothesis was devised, largely as a result of experience with trust violators, for which Cressey claims universal validity. His cases consisted mainly of 133 inmates whom he interviewed at Joliet, Terre Haute, and Chino. He further reports that he found no exceptions after testing this hypothesis by "a search of cases reported in

the literature and an examination of about two hundred cases collected by E. H. Sutherland in the 1930's" although exactly how he used this material and what information was available is not clear.

The universal generalization consists of three parts, all of which are necessary in explaining a trust violation (p. 30). First is the opportunity to violate and the presence of a non-shareable financial problem. "Trusted persons become trust violators when they conceive of themselves as having a financial problem which is non-shareable." Situations of this type are of a wide variety and, in part, include problems such as those arising from ascribed obligations, personal failure, business reversals, physical isolation, status-gaining and employer-employee relations. All such problems he reports were solved secretly since the approval of the group would have been lost if the trust violator had revealed his problem. Second is the knowledge of how to violate. They are "aware that this problem can be secretly resolved by violation of the position of financial trust." Third is the presence of acceptable verbalizations "which enable them to adjust their conception of themselves as trusted persons with their conception of themselves as users of the entrusted funds or property." Such rationalizations included, for example, "borrowing" or that their violations of trust were justified by "unusual circumstances."

While not many would question that there are often too many exceptions in our research findings, it is doubtful if the analytic method, at least as employed by Cressey, will be the final answer to this difficulty. The generalization is so broad as to have little meaning and it admittedly has little predictive use. A non-shareable financial problem seems to represent almost any "jam" in which a person finds himself and which he must solve secretly. Furthermore, the person must define the problem as non-shareable to himself which appears often to result in a subjective definition by the interviewer as to what was non-shared. The language of the violator was the source of definition since they did not use the term "non-shareable." Cressey suggests that typical indices were language such as "ashamed" or "had too much false pride" (p. 75). As for the knowledge of techniques and rationalizations, it is hard to believe that persons who are long in a position of trust would be unfamiliar with them.

He admits that the universal generalization lacks predictive capacity. "The theory we have presented has few practical implications either for prevention or detection of trust

violations or for treatment of apprehended violators" (p. 153). In fact, one can say nothing about a trust violation until the total act has been completed since the presence of one or two aspects of the generalization does not suggest the other one or two will follow. The study neither indicates what offenders with what characteristics are more likely to violate, nor what situations are likely to be more productive of violation.

The proof of the generalization seems to hinge on whether trust violators do not violate when all the factors in the generalization are not present. To prove this Cressey uses what might be termed an internal control, namely that the violators stated that there were previous occasions when they did not violate because all of the factors had not been present. Trust violators had to report whether in the past they conceived of themselves as having had any other non-shareable financial problem, whether adequate rationalizations and the other factors were present at the time, data which would appear difficult to recall because they required subjective interpretations of past events rather than facts. Cressey conducted detailed interviews of an average duration of fifteen hours using informal interview procedures rather than a schedule or uniform procedure. Unfortunately there was some selection of cases, as he reports that some "good" subjects were interviewed more frequently and extensively than those he termed "poor" subjects for interviewing. "Those who were unable to talk freely and spontaneously about the details of their cases and backgrounds, even if they so desired, were not interviewed as frequently as those who were able to do so" (p. 26). It is also likely that the length of time the violators in the sample had been in a position of trust, whether for a few months or a number of years, would appear to be important factors in recalling past situations. Some of these difficulties would have been avoided if an actual control group, probably a sample of persons who were at the time in a position of trust, had been interviewed to ascertain whether all parts of the generalization were present without violation.

We know almost nothing of the characteristics of the sample Cressey interviewed and nothing of the other cases he used. One might suggest that whether the cases are representative or not is immaterial to the hypotheses, since they were "trust violators." Yet Cressey suggests that we make further studies to check his generalization without telling us much about his sample. It consists of prison inmates who, because of this fact and their previous social

position, might tend to magnify the non-shareability of their problem and stress rationalizations. The results might be different if other samples of undetected violators, those discovered and not prosecuted because of restitution, etc., or those placed on probation were studied using his hypothesis. It is unfortunate that he often uses terms such as "most," "some," "almost all," "large proportion," and "a few" without telling us the number of cases involved or presenting tables (e.g., pp. 112-119). Scientific writing requires more precision than the use of terms which have meaning only to the author.

This study, despite a number of limitations, represents a substantial addition to the criminological literature dealing with behavior systems and crime. Since it studies a subtype of crime, trust violation, it contributes toward the building up a science of criminology through the study of types rather than "criminals" as a homogeneous group. With Cressey's excellent analysis of the behavior that takes place in trust violation it is possible to follow it up with other studies which may enable us to predict the particular individuals and the particular situations which are likely to lead to the behavior system.

Cressey makes several comments on the relation of trust violation to the differential association theory, particularly with regard to the ratio of contacts with criminal and anti-criminal behavior patterns. Such associations with others as are related to the trust violation took place some time prior to the crime. Over a period of time there seems to have been a gradual change in the offender's values about trust, honesty, and deceit. While it is difficult to show empirically that there has been an excess of contacts with behavior patterns which sanction trust violation, the quality of contacts is much easier to show than quantity. Finally, since many trust violations were committed by persons who had been in a position of trust for several years it would indicate that rationalizations are learned while a person was in a position of trust.

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Drinking in College. By ROBERT STRAUS and SELDEN D. BACON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. vii, 221 pp. \$4.00.

In 1949-1951 the Yale Laboratory of Applied Physiology conducted a questionnaire survey of 15,747 college students from 27 different colleges, which were selected to represent different regions and different types of colleges.

The authors point out, however, that we are not to construe this to be a random sample from all college students.

The sample of students showed 74 per cent reported using alcoholic beverages to some extent—80 per cent for men and 61 per cent for women. This is higher than the estimate of 65 per cent for the adult population of the United States today, with 75 per cent for men and 55 per cent for women. Although the percentages for college students are higher than the general population, they may not be higher than the social strata from which college strata are drawn. It was found that among the students, the higher the family income, the higher the incidence of drinking.

The general finding of the study was that the drinking of alcoholic beverages of college students is related to the general culture and not to the sub-culture of college life. In support of this thesis, the authors give the following statistics: 79 per cent of the men drinkers had their first drink before entering college; 65 per cent of the women. Of all the students who had ever been tight, 75 per cent of the men and 47 per cent of the women reported that the first instance of getting tight occurred away from home but *before* they went to college. Among the men, 92 per cent who reported that both parents drink are themselves drinkers, as compared with only 58 per cent drinkers among those who reported that both parents abstain. For women, these percentages are 83 per cent and 23 per cent, respectively. Among the students who drink, 47 per cent of the men began to drink before the age of 18 (when they normally enter college), and 56 per cent of the women. Also, of those who drink, it was found that 51 per cent of the men and 67 per cent of the women first drank at home or in the home of a friend. The earlier the student began to drink, the higher the frequency and quantity of beverages consumed. The data also support the hypothesis that advice against drinking was more effective if it came from one's home than from any other source. These data, then, indicate that the home and not the college is in large degree responsible for drinking among those enrolled in college.

Identification with social groups other than the family is also important. The rank order of religious groups by order of increasing incidence of drinking (to some extent) are Mormon, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish. How-

ever, those faiths which are most opposed to drinking and have the lowest incidence appear to have among their drinkers the highest incidence of intemperate drinkers. Apparently, there is no norm of temperance to follow when all drinking is condemned.

Friendship groupings are also important. It was found that among men drinkers, 89 per cent have close friends who drink as against 16 per cent with close friends who abstain. Among women drinkers the percentages are 79 and 5 respectively. Although some persons begin to drink to conform to social expectation, it was found that only 6 per cent of the college group disapproved of abstainers who make no point of their abstention. Disapproval of the abstainers who are also reformers is eight times as high. Nevertheless, in answer to why they drank the most common answers had a social connotation, e.g., "to comply with custom," "to be gay," "to get along better on dates;" and of lesser importance were those which suggested a psychological connotation, e.g., "as an aid in meeting crises," "to get drunk," "for a sense of well-being," and "in order not to be shy."

Other interesting findings are: (1) men tend to confine their drinking to all male company, and on such occasions tend to drink beer; (2) mixed company drinking tends to decrease the amount men drink, but to increase the amount women drink, both tending to drink spirits on such occasions; (3) a large segment of excessive drinkers are concerned about their problem and are ripe for remedial treatment; and (4) there is a widespread belief that drinking is associated with sexual activity.

This book is well worth reading for anyone interested in the problem of drinking, especially the problem of drinking by college students. It was done objectively, and without any moralizing, which adds to its insight.

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Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study. By JOHN W. M. WHITING and IRVIN L. CHILD. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1953. vi, 353 pp. \$5.00.

This book represents a methodological advance in the scientific study of the interrelations of culture and personality. Earlier works, of which those of Margaret Mead are representative, focused on the effect of culture on personality

in a particular society. They delineated the conditions for learning in different societies and reported the similarities and differences in personality traits that resulted. Later studies, of which those by Kardiner and Linton are typical, carried the process of relating culture and personality one step further, by regarding personality as the connecting link between two aspects of culture: the primary institutions responsible for child training practices and the secondary institutions like religion and art. These studies were case studies, since they were concerned with individual societies. Now Whiting and Child undertake to test general hypotheses about personality as an intervening variable by the use of the method of correlation, using the single culture as the unit of study, not the single individual. Using a world-wide sample of 75 primitive societies, the authors test the hypothesis of the integration of culture on the basis of personality variables. Specifically, they undertake to show how beliefs and practices in illness under primitive conditions are related to the personality traits of childhood.

The conceptual framework is psychoanalytic theory, modified by certain contributions of learning theory. For instance, psychoanalytic theory emphasizes the special importance of the first five or six years of life in building the child's emotional patterns and stresses the difficulty of changing these habits once they are established; whereas learning theory holds that what is learned can be unlearned. Whiting and Child take the concept of fixation from psychoanalysis, and by applying concepts from learning theory, posit the existence of two types of fixation, negative fixation resulting from frustration and anxiety, and positive fixation resulting from satisfaction of drives in early childhood. The data supplied by Whiting and Ford support the hypothesis of negative fixation: if anxiety is conspicuous in any behavior system in child training, there will be a tendency in adulthood to attribute illness to that same system of behavior. There is no consistent evidence, on the other hand, to support the equivalent hypothesis of positive fixation. Intense satisfactions established in early life may be replaced by intense satisfactions acquired in later life. The authors conclude that the role of early training is less important in positive than in negative fixation, in establishing lifelong personality tendencies (p. 215).

The method used is as follows. Five systems of behavior: oral, anal, sexual, dependence, and aggression are presumed to be universal and subject to socialization in all societies. Two aspects of each system are studied: initial in-

dulgence or satisfaction, and later discipline or socialization. The source material consists of extracts from ethnographic reports about the culture of 75 primitive societies, taken from the Human Relations Area Files and other sources. Judgments regarding the variables were made by three trained persons using a seven-point rating scale. The judgments were classified as confident or doubtful, and some hypotheses could be tested only if doubtful judgments were included. For confident judgments, the median coefficient of correlation was 0.65. One set of judges judged the childhood training practices and a different set judged the customs relating to illness.

There are some interesting auxiliary findings. The most characteristic mode of treatment of young infants the world over in primitive society is indulgence, whether it be in oral, anal, sex, or dependency training. A society which is highly indulgent with respect to one of these systems of behavior will tend to be below-average in severity in the socialization of that same system of behavior (p. 108). When socialization comes early, it is usually severe; when it comes late, it is relatively mild. "There is no consistent relation between the way one system of behavior is socialized and the way another system of behavior is socialized" (pp. 115-116).

The difficulties of such a study as this include (a) questions regarding the reliability of some of the ethnological reports and (b) the low agreement of judges even on confident judgments. On the theoretical side, there is a considerable question as to the justification for the major conclusion regarding personality as an integrating factor in culture, linking the antecedent variables (various aspects of child training) with the so-called consequent variables (explanations for illness and techniques of therapy). A correlation between variables, as the authors recognize, does not prove that the variables are causally related. *A* may vary with *B*, but the variations in *A* and *B* may be due to a third factor, *C*. The Eskimos may be lenient with their children in toilet training and dirty as adults because of a third factor, the difficulty of getting running water. Theories of illness and child training practices may both be the result of the general system of religious ideas and/or other factors. Personality as an intervening variable between childhood training customs and customs regarding illness would scarcely hold in Western society in the twentieth century where scientific ideas dominate in medicine. The personality variable appears to be more significant in elementary societies where technology

is crude and where ideas and fantasies play a larger role. The central and increasing role of technology and science as factors in cultural change make the theory of personality integration of culture more appropriate to the past than the present or the future.

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Parent and Child: Studies in Family Behavior.

By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. 308 pp. \$5.00.

This book by Bossard, his thirty-first, sustains his reputation as a student of special family situations. He himself says he stresses "the minutiae of living." The topics he treats are ordinary aspects of family life that have for the most part received little attention from family researchers. Some of these neglected topics treated by Bossard in earlier publications are family ritual, family table talk, and family guests. In the volume under review, Bossard considers the role of deceased family members in child development, the effect of family size on family relations, the development of a spatial index for family interaction, the effect on the child who has a sequence of parents, the influence of over-age parents, the effects of visiting by the child, and the effects of interclass marriage and parents' occupations on child development. These are all interesting topics, but they would seem to vary greatly in (1) universality and (2) significance for child development. Practically all fathers have occupations, and it would be useful to know how the occupational factor affects family life. Relatively few children have over-age parents. Moreover all interesting topics are not equally researchable. To get valid data on the role of deceased family members in child development would seem to present difficulties.

The method used in this book is that of the analysis of case study material obtained primarily by responses to an open-ended questionnaire on a stipulated topic, supplemented by some interviews. The number of cases varies for the different topics, being 25 for the study of the large family system and 81 for the study of the effect of father's occupation on the child. Altogether more than 500 case studies are utilized. The subjects are mainly students attending college in the Northeastern region of the United States.

Case studies may be fruitful for originating hypotheses but are less useful if one is interested in arriving at generalizations. For instance, in comparing the small family system and the large family system, Bossard concludes that

they differ significantly in their effect on the personality of the child. Large families are said to take crises in stride and children in large families are said to discipline one another. The author supports the popular view that only children are significantly different from children who have siblings. The clinical literature carries cases that support the stereotype of the spoiled only child. But the clinician deals with selected cases where abnormalities are conspicuous. These are extreme variations and do not represent the average. When some years ago the data regarding only children were carefully reviewed, it was found that in most traits only slight differences were indicated between children who have siblings and those who do not.¹

Bossard writes in a somewhat popular, anecdotal style. He introduces each chapter with a relevant citation from a literary or philosophical source.

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Advance to Barbarism: How the Reversion to Barbarism in Warfare and War-Trials Menaces Our Future. By F. J. P. VEALE. Appleton: C. C. Nelson Publishing Company, 1953. xvii, 305 pp. \$4.50.

This challenging, but possibly not fully objective, book deserves a wide reading if only as an offset to still less objective treatments of the war criminal trials. The book seems to date to have been largely ignored by reviewers in newspapers, but highly praised by a number including Professor Harry E. Barnes, writing in the Chicago Tribune. The present reviewer is hardly competent to pass upon the accuracy of all the details of minor events dealt with, but these details hardly seem essential to the central thesis of the book. Not perhaps exactly a detail is its argument that in wars between Anglo-Saxon peoples disregard of distinction between civilians and armed forces dates back to Sherman's March to the Sea under a policy sanctioned by Abraham Lincoln. Some historians would find earlier examples of such disregard.

Apart from such controversial questions, the argument and evidence of the book seems adequate further to demonstrate that the war criminal trials were unjust, politically ineffective in achieving reduction of either atrocious or aggressive behavior in international relations, and dangerous because more likely to increase such behavior. The present reviewer is not particularly impressed with the "who did it first" argument for the purpose of assessing

¹ W. Paul Carter, *The Only Child and Other Birth Orders* (doctoral dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1937).

responsibility for war or for atrocity. Still, it is important that people who are so impressed know that priority by no means rested wholly with our enemies in the Second World War. It becomes increasingly clear that if war criminals are in the future effectively to be brought before the bar of justice, they must be brought regardless of their affiliation with victors or vanquished; must be tried by neutral judges; and must be dealt with in a manner likely to prevent recurrence of future war crimes, rather than merely punished as selected enemy offenders for their past acts, however terrible.

Veale argues that the actual effect of the trials is to make war leaders even more disregardful of human life than before. This is because fear of punishment as war criminals will stimulate generals to use every means, however inhuman, to achieve victory. The principle of personal responsibility for horrible acts also may furnish excuse for beginning the punishment of enemies while war is still on, by executing war prisoners rightly or wrongly charged with atrocities. The position of the book seems not quite to be that war is hell, and that hence there is no use trying to make it nice. *Advance To Barbarism* seems rather to idealize and suggest retreat to the relatively gentlemanly warfare of the good old days. Yet some readers of Veale might perhaps come to the former conclusion. On the other hand, need one wholly give over other effort to set up codes of relatively humane warfare, even if one were to decide it futile and even dangerous to repeat the farce of formal trials and assessment of guilt? Whatever the answer, everyone should know the facts surrounding the trials after World War II, including facts about criminals never brought to court. Many of these facts are effectively marshalled by Veale, an English lawyer, with the sanction of Dean Inge of St. Pauls.

Accepting the great significance of *Advance To Barbarism*, the reviewer would nevertheless make a minor and a major criticism of the book. The lesser criticism concerns Veale's argument that, from the historical viewpoint, behind Lincoln, Sherman, Roosevelt, Churchill, Hitler, or whomever one may select as guilty parties, there lay the implications of the ideology of Karl Marx, and a tradition of cruelty derived largely from the Orient, characteristic of Russians, and especially to be expected of communist Russians. The tradition of cruelty may certainly be found in both Oriental and Russian history, and is probably more evident there than in Anglo-Saxon ideologies. But Veale's book is itself a powerful argument that situations may overcome the influence of sup-

posedly contrary traditions and make the justice-loving and democratic Englishman or American a cruel foe. Veale fails fully to explain the "advance to barbarism" he properly condemns. He doesn't get back to underlying situations of the past which explain traditions, nor to the provocative situations which explain current behavior. Moreover it seems at least doubtful that the violence and cruelty so evident in Soviet policies, may rightly be found implicit in all of the ideology of Karl Marx. Certainly some Marxian international socialists have been rather humane revolutionaries, even if revolutionaries.

More basic, it seems, is criticism of Veale's outworn devil theory of history, and his unscientific moralistic philosophy. Just as the debunkers of the history of World War I proposed that we substitute for a wicked Kaiser a wicked Poincaré, so Veale and some of our revisionist historians, introduce as their preferred devils a Churchill, a Roosevelt, a Marx, or even a Lincoln. Does not such personalizing and moralizing of a problem rooted in world social processes hide from our view the less personal and more basic causes for both the cruelty and the "aggressions" of men and of nations? Veale's book properly shows us the error of pouncing on the wrong devils, or discovering only some of the devils. Nevertheless it tends to reinforce the devil theory of history. Is not the need rather to discover and reduce the sources of tension which create wars, and the conditions which make men—any men—such beasts on occasion?

DONALD R. TAFT

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The Primitive City of Timbuctoo. By HORACE MINER. Princeton: Published for the American Philosophical Society (Memoir No. 32) by Princeton University Press, 1953. xix, 297 pp. \$5.00.

The fabled city of Timbuctoo, symbol of strange remoteness even for social scientists, loses none of its lustre by being treated ethnographically and analytically. For every mundane fact that Horace Miner gives us about the life of the inhabitants (each of which may serve to dilute the mystery of a far-away place) there is a provocative methodological or theoretical issue which, for the professional reader, restores an element of intellectual excitement and suspense. The author has made at once a contribution to ethnography and to the theory of urbanization, the whole being presented in an orderly, concise, and lucid manner. The careful separa-

tion of theory from observation and his introspective report of the methods employed assure maximum utility of this work not only for contemporary anthropologists and sociologists but for social scientists of the future as well.

Miner's main interest is with the characteristics of the city, but because the cities hitherto analyzed by sociologists have all been in the context of Western civilization "it would appear to be worthwhile to have comparative data, and to see whether such phenomena as crime, secularization, and group conflict are products of city life *per se* or whether they are the products of our particular type of urban civilization" (p. ix). To that end he chose the small city of Timbuctoo, one of the very few in the world unaffected by Euro-American culture (French colonial governmental control is of only forty-five years stand-

ing; the changes due to it thus fall within the personal experience of informants). Timbuctoo's history reaches back to the late eleventh century and strong Mohammedan influences commenced in the early fourteenth century. Physically and culturally Timbuctoo is comprised of three groups, Arab, Songhai, and Tuareg, which impart a considerable heterogeneity. The greater part of the book is devoted to descriptions of the culture of the freemen, serfs and slaves within these three fractions. Bracketing these chapters are the Introduction, in which the problem is excellently stated, and Chapter 14, "City Folk," in which Miner concludes, with a fine review of evidence, that certain social and cultural phenomena of city life are indeed independent of our civilization.

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BOOK NOTES

The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook. By LEWIS L. LORWIN. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953. xvii, 366 pp. \$5.00.

On the basis of several years experience as economic adviser to the ILO and UNESCO, the author has rewritten his earlier volume, *Labor and Internationalism* (1929). This new book, the only one of its kind, is an eminently serviceable tool for students and teachers of modern labor history and problems as well as for general readers.

Almost entirely a historical survey, the book is rather evenly distributed between the periods before and following the first World War. The account is chronological, descriptive, and detailed; its sympathies lie with "the free international labor movement." An excellent table of contents and index make it a ready reference.

From the standpoint of students of social movements and of social change, the author's conclusion about the international labor movement is incisive and cogent: "the idea which originally inspired the international labor movement, namely, that it can be the main directive force in international relations, has not been borne out by experience." Instead, the author points to "the growth of the pragmatist-reformist international labor organizations," functioning as "a constructive opposition" (and, one wonders, possibly as an indirect diplomatic agency of ministries of foreign

affairs). Persons interested in the general theory of social change will be intrigued, if not enlightened, by his recital of a set of "conditions of modern life" which explain the rise of nationalist, quite as well as they explain the rise of internationalist, tendencies in modern labor movements.—PAUL MEADOWS.

American Labor From Defense to Reconversion. By JOEL SEIDMAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. xi, 307 pp. \$5.50.

This book on the American Labor Movement traces a number of major themes from the fall of France through World War II to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Material for this volume come mainly from labor sources, and to a lesser extent from government and management documents, and newspaper reports. In the preface the author states his value judgments (a commendable practice) then proceeds to tell the story from organized labor's point of view. This framework, however, does not prevent him from being objective about his subject.

Themes discussed under "Defense," "Hostilities," and "Reconversion," the three periods into which the study is divided, include: union-management relations, union security, wages, wartime strikes, manpower crises, postwar readjustment and legislation. Seidman presents a picture of the struggle between three major power groups—labor, management, and gov-

ernment—complicated somewhat by the domestic quarrel within the house of labor. Moderate conflict was present during the defense crisis; but after Pearl Harbor recognition of the Axis as the common enemy greatly mitigated this conflict, as indicated by the relative lack of violence, strikes, anti-union legislation and compulsion by government. With V-J day the antagonistic cooperation of wartime gave way to a wave of strikes and anti-union legislation, climaxed by the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

While the excitement inherent in the subject is not always communicated to the reader, this volume is a valuable contribution. A history of labor in an important time from an important point of view, it adds to the understanding of the complex relationships among labor, management, and government.—ERWIN O. SMIGEL.

European Impressions of the American Worker.

By ROBERT W. SMUTS. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1953. ix, 62 pp. \$1.50.

As a background work for a major investigation of the American Worker, 1890–1950, this monograph treats European views of the American worker at the turn of the century and in 1950. The volume is largely descriptive, but there is a need for both clearer definition of terminology and delimitation of subject matter. One is never told who is included in the category, American worker. Although reactions to topics other than the worker, e.g., American production methods and union-management relations, are presented, the basis for their inclusion is not given. However, they serve to broaden the scope to include the entire field of industrial relations.

The sampling procedures for the two periods were not comparable. For 1890, the picture was derived from a selected group of six British visitors and one British industrial commission, four Frenchmen, three Germans, and one Hungarian. For 1950, the sample of "European" opinion was limited to the reports of roughly 60 British productivity teams.

The author does provide a thought-provoking perspective on American industry and labor, and carefully evaluates the comments of the observers in the light of their own bias. He concludes that the descriptions for 1890 and 1950 are remarkably similar, attributing this phenomenon to the persistence of attitudes and conditions which constitute the highly effective incentive structure of American industry. While the methods of data-gathering do not permit such a firm conclusion, one

sees that when the scientist looks through the eyes of the outsider, the familiar picture of dynamic change is replaced by one emphasizing stability.—MARGARET KUEFFNER CHANDLER.

Labor Problems: Cases and Readings. By GEORGE P. SCHULTZ and JOHN R. COLEMAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. xiii, 456 pp. \$4.50.

Combining a wide variety of substantive and conceptual selections from the literature of the field of industrial relations broadly conceived, this text could be useful for classes in industrial sociology especially at colleges lacking specialized courses in labor history, labor economics, collective bargaining, and personnel management. The first section, on the growth of unionism, is quite properly historically oriented including accounts of the Haymarket Riot, Gompers' rejection of the DeLeonist socialists, up through the emergence of industrial unionism in 1935 and the spotlighting of crime on the docks in the 1950's. From there on, the internal operations of unions and the various theories of the labor movement are quite adequately presented. The fundamental problems of American management in coping with workers and unions, and the myriad facets of these problems, are also described.

The nature of collective bargaining, the issues, and the economics involved each receives its due share of attention both in qualitative and quantitative terms. Together, there are sixty-one such selections. The authors, both of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, should be particularly commended for their introductions to each of six parts of the anthology. They exhibit more than the usual amount of care and thought in their formulations.—HAROLD L. SHEPPARD.

The Family: From Institution to Companionship (2nd edition). By ERNEST W. BURGESS and HARVEY J. LOCKE. New York: American Book Company, 1953. xiv, 729 pp. \$5.75.

The first edition of this text, published in 1945, has been given the most thorough test of wide adoption and use over an eight-year period. It has been a leader of the institutional texts and has proved itself sound and usable.

The second edition contains no radical departures. No new chapters are added and none have been deleted. It has, however, been rather carefully revised. The total length has been reduced by almost ten per cent to 689 pages, exclusive of appendices. This has been accomplished not by omitting chapters but by

rewriting and shortening sentences, and omitting sentences or occasionally paragraphs. Personal document materials have been shortened, re-edited, and, in some cases, new documents have been substituted. The over-all effect has been an improvement in both clarity and readability.

The chapter "Predicting Marital Adjustment" has been greatly expanded by the addition of an analysis of the Burgess-Wallin and Locke research findings published elsewhere. This revised chapter in summary form brings together the marital prediction research accomplished to date. A comparison of agreements and differences between the major research projects are summarized in a 22-page table (pp. 408-430).

In the reviewer's opinion, two minor criticisms can be made of both editions. The reader is likely to get the impression that there has been a straight-line evolution of the family from pre-historic times to the present (p. 15). Considerable evidence has been collected to support a cyclical theory of the family in western civilization. The use of personal documents to gain the students' interest as well as to illustrate generalizations tends to reduce the cohesiveness of presentation. These materials have been reduced, but are still profuse.

Our summary view is that one of the best institutional texts has been considerably improved in the second edition.—F. IVAN NYE.

Basic Sociology. By E. J. Ross. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1953. viii, 424 pp. \$4.00.

The head of the Department of Sociology at Trinity College has written an introductory text for Catholic colleges. It constitutes a thorough revision of her earlier work, *Fundamental Sociology*, published in 1939. The book has three unusual features, in addition to a decreased emphasis on the expected moral imperatives. In the opinion of the reviewer, none of the three is successful, but potential writers of introductory texts might prefer to make a personal evaluation.

Dr. Ross wishes to avoid overlap between the introductory course and advanced courses in special areas, such as the family. Accordingly, she has eliminated most of the material covered in those courses. She concentrates instead on (1) the definition of concepts, (2) the development of social thought, and (3) the origin of social institutions. The result is a text almost devoid of the findings of empirical research.

Concern with definition of concepts and the history of theories is laudable, but overem-

phasis produces a text which demands memorizing from the student without giving him a corresponding change in perspective. A barrage of names, dates, and terms without evidence of the usefulness of such knowledge seems a sterile approach in an introductory course.—SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH.

Bibliographies on Personality and Social Development of the Child. By CHRISTOPH HEINICKE and BEATRICE BLYTH WHITING. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1953. viii, 130 pp. \$1.00.

The first section is devoted to studies of the socialization process, with equal attention to child-rearing variables and their effects on personality. While psychological and psychiatric publications predominate the sampling of 1331 references is rather comprehensive, including studies from anthropology, sociology, education, and medicine. Almost all of the studies were conducted within the past twenty-five years, but emphasis is placed on those of most recent vintage. As a general rule-of-thumb the authors limited their selection to "... studies based on reasonably objective techniques and enough cases or instances of measurement to provide comparative statements."

Ethnographic reports of child-rearing practices, classified by tribes, comprise the second bibliography. This one is less extensive than the first since the authors chose "only those tribes . . . for which there are good ethnographic sources for the culture as well as extensive reports on child-rearing practices."

In short this seems like a welcome aid for investigators and students working in these areas.—ALLAN KATCHER.

Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Interpretation. By DAVID RIESMAN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953. xv, 221 pp. \$3.00.

Thorstein Veblen was born on a Wisconsin farm. His parents were immigrant Norwegian peasants. Thorstein attended a small denominational college, where he met his first wife. He obtained the Doctorate at Yale; joined the faculty in the University of Chicago, and began teaching economic theory. As a lecturer, Veblen was disappointing; but as critic, he roused students to examine the base of their belief. His statement was often ironic; his responses sometimes evasive.

In *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, Veblen makes a distinction between the motives of entrepreneurs, who manage because

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they have property, and workmen who put things together, because they must earn a living. The former may know little of a process of manufacture, yet claim the profits for rigging the market. Craftsmen take what they can get, and pay prices that are set for them. Expensive articles gain prestige, and money becomes the foundation of value. So the Leisure Class indulges in wasteful expenditure and vicarious leisure (for their women) to encourage emulation. This is a drain upon collective resources.

Veblen was a maverick. In economics, politics and ethics he scorned pretense and despised convention. Production was to him the highest calling; waste and exploitation marked social failure. *Technocracy*—management by engineers and scientists—was Veblen's nearest approach to a social gospel. Most of his work was decidedly critical.

Riesman does not approve Veblen's reasoning. The careful work of Dorfman gives a better rounded account of the man, his times, and his ideas.—HOWARD B. WOOLSTON.

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